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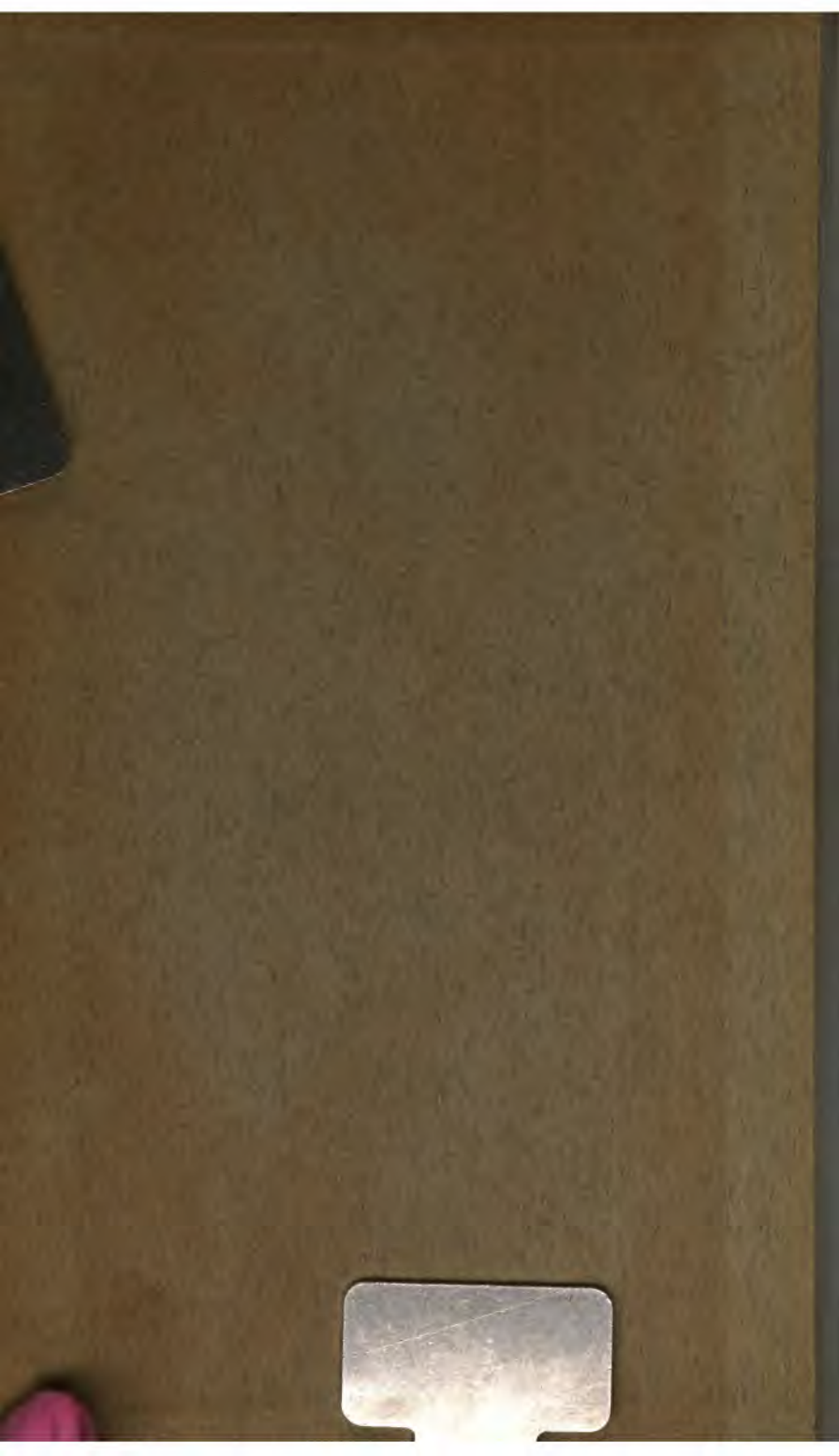

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U.K.

MEMOIRS

OF THE

REIGN OF GEORGE III.

TO THE

SESSION OF PARLIAMENT

ENDING A.D. 1793.

BY W. BELSHAM.

NEW YORK PUBLIC

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CONTENTS

OF

THE THIRD VOLUME.

BOOK VII.

	Page
SESSION of Parliament in November 1779 — Lord Rockingham's spirited Amendment to the Address	2
Earl of Ossory's Motion respecting Ireland	4
Humiliating Confession of Earl Gower	6
Lord North's Propositions respecting Ireland	ib.
Estimate of the National Force	7
Petitions to Parliament on the Subject of Public Œconomy	8
Reform Bills introduced by Mr. Burke	9
Commission of Accounts instituted	10
Earl of Shelburne's Motion of Reform	11
Famous Motion of Mr. Dunning, affirming the Increase of Regal Influence	15
Other Motions carried in Opposition to the Court	17–19
Illness of the Speaker—The Efforts of the Patriots prove finally abortive	20, 21
Riots in London excited by the Catholic Act	23
Laudable Conduct of the King	26
Sanguinary Severities of Lord Loughborough	27
Alliance with Holland dissolved	30
Armed Neutrality	31

Page

Victory of Sir George Rodney over the Spanish Fleet off Cape St. Vincent - - - - - - - - 33
Indecisive Engagements in the West Indies, between Sir George Rodney and the Count de Guichen - - 34
West Florida conquered by the Spaniards - - 35
Fortress of Cape Omoa captured by the English - - ib.
East- and West-India Fleets taken by the Spaniards - ib.
Philanthropic Act passed by the Legislature of Pennsylvania - - - - - - - - - - 36
Military Operations in America—Defection of General Arnold - - - - - - - - - 38
Victory gained by Lord Cornwallis at Camden - 40
Defeat of Major Ferguson at King's Mountain - - 42
Extravagant Exultation of the Court Faction in England - 43
Rupture with Holland - - - - - - - - 44
Dissolution of Parliament—Remarkable Address of Sir George Saville - - - - - - 48
Meeting of the New Parliament, 1780—*Mr. Cornwall Speaker* - - - - - - - 51
Debates on the Declaration of War against Holland - 53
Reform Bill of Mr. Burke revived and rejected - 59
Corrupt and extravagant Loan of Lord North - - 61
Pacificatory Motion of Mr. Fox - - - - 63
Review of the Administration of Mr. Hastings in India - 64
Confederacy of the Powers of India against the English - 127

BOOK VIII.

DISTRESS of the Government of Bengal - - - 129
Ravages of Hyder Ali in the Carnatic - - 194
Naval-Encounters in the East Indies - - - 196
Parliamentary Proceedings against Sir Thomas Rumbold 198
Sir Elijah Impey recalled from India - - - 199
Ineffectual Resolution of the House of Commons for the Recall of Mr. Hastings - - - - - ib.

Military

Page

Military Operations in India—Exertions of General Goddard - - - - - - - - - 202
Death of Hyder Ali—Disasters in Mysore - - 205
Resignation of Mr. Hastings—His Character - - 218
Attempt on the Isle of Jersey - - - 224
Capture of St. Eustatia - - - - 225
Tobago taken by the French - - - - - 227
Eustatia retaken by the French - - - 228
Naval and Military Operations in America - - 229
Colonel Tarleton defeated at the Cowpens - - - - 231
Victory of Lord Cornwallis at Guildford - - 234
General Green's masterly Conduct - - - 236
Military Character of General Green - - - 239
Lord Cornwallis's Successes in Virginia - - 240
Reverse of Fortune—Retreat to York-Town - - 242,3
Lord Cornwallis and his Army made Prisoners of War - 248
Solemn Thanksgiving throughout the States of the Union - 249
Commodore Johnston's Expedition to the Cape of Good Hope 250
Obstinate Engagement between the English and Dutch Fleets off the Dogger Bank - - - 251
Spirited Proceedings of the Parliament and People of Ireland - - - - - - - - 252

BOOK IX.

SESSION of Parliament, 1781—*Infatuation of Ministers* 255
Speech from the Throne—Character of the KING - 256, 7
Memorable Debate on the Address - - - - 258
Motion condemnatory of the American War by Sir James Lowther - - - - - - - - 265
Debate on the Army Estimates - - - - 269
Motion of Censure on the Earl of Sandwich, by Mr. Fox 272
Lord George Germaine advanced to the Peerage - - 273
Protest of the Lords against it - - - 275

Mr.

Page

Mr. Fox renews his Motion of Censure on the Earl of Sandwich - - - - - - - - - 275
General Conway's Motion against the American War negatived by a Majority of One Voice only - - 276
General Conway's second Motion against the American War—carried by a Majority of 19 *Voices* - - 278
Successive Motions of Censure on the Ministers - - 281
Entire Change of Administration - - - - 283
Marquis of Rockingham a second Time Minister - 285
High and Peremptory Claims of the Irish Parliament - 289
Repeal of the Irish Declaratory Act - - - - 292
Mr. Burke's Reform Bill a third Time introduced and passed - - - - - - - - - - 294
King's Debts a third Time discharged - - 295
Courtly Adulation of Mr. Burke - - - ib.
Resolutions respecting the Middlesex Election rescinded - 297
Mr. Pitt's Motion of Enquiry into the State of the Representation - - - - - - - - - 298
Death of the Marquis of Rockingham—His Character - 307
Advancement of the Earl of Shelburne—Fatal Divisions amongst the Whigs - - - - - 308
Minorca conquered by the Spaniards - - 315
Island of St. Christopher, &c. captured by the French - 316
The Bahamas taken by the Spaniards - - - 317
Decisive Victory of Sir George Rodney over the French Fleet off Dominique - - - - - 318
Glorious Defence and final Relief of Gibraltar - - 32
Provisional Articles of Peace with America signed at Paris, November 1782 - - - - - - 327
General Washington resigns his Commission - - 329
Session of Parliament, 1782—*Strength of the Minister* 331–3
Preliminaries of Peace with France and Spain signed at Paris, January 1783 - - - - - - 333
Debates on the Peace—Defence of the Minister - 334–6

Terms

Page

Terms of the Peace discussed and ultimately disapproved by the Commons - - - - - 340–3
Coalition between Mr. Fox and Lord North - - 344
Change of Administration—Duke of Portland Minister - 346
Extreme Unpopularity of the Coalition Administration - 347
Act of Renunciation of the Authority of Great Britain over Ireland - - - - - 350
Embarrassments of the East-India Company - - 351
Mr. Pitt's Plan of Parliamentary Reform - - - 352
Remarkable Petition of the Quakers - - - 355
Order of Council for the Regulation of Commerce between the Continent of America and the West Indies - 356
Treaty of Peace signed between England and Holland - ib.
Death of Archbishop Cornwallis - - - 357
State of Europe—Austrian Invasion of Bavaria - 358
War between Prussia and the Emperor - - 361
Journey of the Pope to Vienna - - - 366
Cession of the Crimea by the Turks to Russia - - 370
Death of Joseph I. *King of Portugal* - - 371
Mr. Fox's India Bill moved - - - 373
Passes the Commons, but is rejected by the Lords - 378–82
Sudden Dismission of the Coalition Ministers - - 385
Mr. Pitt First Minister—His great Popularity - ib.
Political Conflict between the Crown and the Commons - 387
Mr. Pitt's India Bill rejected - - - 389
The Nation declares in Favor of the Crown - - 390
The Parliament dissolved - - - - 395
Meeting of the New Parliament, 1784—*Triumph of the Minister* - - - - - 396

GEORGE III.

BOOK VII.

Session of Parliament—Lord Rockingham's spirited Amendment to the Address. Earl of Ossory's Motion respecting Ireland. Humiliating Confession of Earl Gower. Lord North's Propositions respecting Ireland. Estimate of the National Force. Petitions to Parliament on the Subject of Public Œconomy. Reform Bills introduced by Mr. Burke. Commission of Accounts instituted. Earl of Shelburne's Motion of Reform. Famous Motion of Mr. Dunning, affirming the Increase of Regal Influence. Other Motions carried in Opposition to the Court. Illness of the Speaker—The Efforts of the Patriots prove finally abortive. Riots in London excited by the Catholic Act. Laudable Conduct of the King. Sanguinary Severities of Lord Loughborough. Alliance with Holland dissolved. Armed Neutrality. Victory by Sir George Rodney over the Spanish Fleet off Cape St. Vincent's. Indecisive Engagements in the West Indies, between Sir George Rodney and the Count de Guichen. West Florida conquered by the Spaniards. Fortress of Omoa captured by the English. East and West India Fleets taken by the Spaniards. Military Operations in America. Philanthropic Act passed by the Legislature of Pennsylvania. Defection of General Arnold. Victory gained by Lord Cornwallis at Camden. Defeat of Major Ferguson at King's Mountain. Extravagant Exultation of the Court Faction in England. Rupture with Holland. Dissolution of Parliament—Remarkable Address of Sir George Saville. Meeting of the New Parliament—Mr. Cornwall Speaker. Debates

on the Declaration of War against Holland. Reform Bill of Mr. Burke revived, and again rejected. Corrupt and extravagant Loan of Lord North. Pacificatory Motion of Mr. Fox. Review of the Administration of Mr. Hastings in India.

THE ſixth ſeſſion of the preſent parliament began at Weſtminſter on the 25th of November, 1779. The king informed the two houſes, in his ſpeech from the throne, "that he had met them at a time when they were, in concert with him, called upon by every principle of duty, and every conſideration of intereſt, to exert their united efforts in the ſupport and defence of their country, attacked by an unjuſt and unprovoked war, and contending with one of the moſt dangerous confederacies that ever was formed againſt the crown and people of Britain. In the midſt of his care and ſolicitude for the ſafety of this country, he had not been inattentive to the ſtate of his loyal and faithful kingdom of Ireland; and, in conſequence of the addreſſes preſented to him the preceding ſeſſion, he had ordered ſuch papers to be laid before them as might aſſiſt their deliberations, and he recommended it to them to conſider what farther benefits and advantages might be extended to that country." Echoes of the ſpeech in the uſual ſtyle being propoſed, lord Rockingham moved in the houſe of peers a very ſpirited amendment, "beſeeching

ing his majeſty to reflect upon the extent of territory, power, and opulence — of reputation abroad, and concord at home, which diſtinguiſhed the opening of his majeſty's reign, and marked it as the moſt ſplendid and happy period in the hiſtory of this nation; and to turn his eyes on the preſent endangered, impoveriſhed, and diſtracted ſtate of the empire; and ſtating to his majeſty, that if any thing can prevent the conſummation of public ruin, it can be only new counſels and new counſellors, a real change from the conviction of paſt errors, and not a mere palliation, which muſt prove fruitleſs." This was negatived after a very warm debate by eighty-two voices to forty-one. A ſimilar amendment was moved in the houſe of commons by lord John Cavendiſh, and occaſioned a debate no leſs violent, in the courſe of which Mr. Fox particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the boldneſs and energy of his obſervations. He ſaid, "that the plan of government which had been in this reign invariably purſued had been very early adopted. It was not the mere rumour of the ſtreets that the king was his own miniſter; the fatal truth was evident; and though denied by the members of the adminiſtration, it was propagated by their followers. It was a doctrine in the higheſt degree dangerous, as tending to relieve miniſters from their reſponſibility, and to

transfer it to a perſonage who could not, by the principles of our conſtitution, be called to an account. But (he ſaid) it ſhould be a warning to ſovereigns, that though in general the evils of a reign were, according to the principles of our government, aſcribed to the wicked counſels of miniſters, yet when theſe evils reach to a certain height, miniſters are forgotten, and the prince alone is puniſhed. Thus it was with the royal houſe of Stuart. CHARLES and JAMES had, no doubt, wicked miniſters, to whom the errors of their reign were juſtly in a great degree to be attributed; yet the one loſt his life, and the other his crown. The patience of the people was not unlimited, and, however paſſive for a time, they would at laſt do themſelves juſtice." The amendment was in the reſult negatived by two hundred and thirty-three voices to one hundred and thirty-four.

On the 6th of December a reſolution of cenſure on the miniſters was moved in the houſe of commons by the earl of Upper Oſſory, relative to the affairs of Ireland. This nobleman poſſeſſed large property in that kingdom, and was moreover diſtinguiſhed by a general candor and liberality of conduct, which gave peculiar weight to his preſent animadverſions. His lordſhip obſerved, "that the miniſters ſeemed totally to have abandoned the government of that country to chance. They neither

neither felt for its diſtreſſes, nor provided againſt its reſentments: the preſent ſtate of Ireland, his lordſhip ſaid, was truly alarming, and ſeemed to portend a ſudden diſſolution of the conſtitutional connection which had ſo long ſubſiſted between the two countries. To the ſhameful inattention and criminal neglect of the miniſtry, who might in the early ſtages of the miſeries of that kingdom have granted the Iriſh nation ſubſtantial relief, was the preſent ſpirit of reſiſtance wholly imputable. To what had the conduct of miniſters led? Either to an unreſerved acquieſcence in every propoſition which Ireland in her preſent diſtempered ſtate might think proper to demand, or the horrible alternative of a civil war while engaged in the preſent unequal conteſt with France, Spain, and America." This motion was powerfully ſupported by Mr. Fox, Mr. Burke, and Mr. Dunning, a lawyer and ſpeaker of great eminence both in the houſe and at the bar; and oppoſed in an elaborate ſpeech by lord North, who declared his intention to bring forward certain reſolutions reſpecting Ireland in a few days. It was negatived by one hundred and ſeventy-three voices to one hundred. A ſimilar motion of cenſure in the houſe of peers by the earl of Shelburne was negatived by eighty-two to thirty-ſeven voices. In the courſe of the debate which aroſe on this occaſion, the late lord preſident

Gower aſſerted his entire conviction that the cenſure now moved had a juſt and adequate foundation. "He had preſided," his lordſhip ſaid, "ſome years at the council-table, where HE HAD SEEN SUCH THINGS PASS, THAT NO MAN OF HONOR OR CONSCIENCE COULD ANY LONGER SIT THERE. The times were ſuch as called upon every man to ſpeak out; ſincerity and activity in our councils could alone reſtore energy and effect to our government." On the day previouſly fixed, lord North brought forward his propoſitions reſpecting Ireland, which were ſubſtantially the ſame with thoſe originally moved by lord Nugent in the ſeſſion of 1778, but accompanied with ſeveral additional conceſſions, particularly the very important one that Ireland ſhould be allowed the free exportation of her woollens. Theſe reſolutions paſſed unanimouſly, and were received in Ireland not only with ſatisfaction but exultation, from the flattering and deluſive expectation of deriving from them an effectual and immediate relief to her diſtreſſes.

The attention of the public in England was not a little attracted by the eſtimates of the army and navy, which were about this time laid before parliament. Eighty-five thouſand men had been at an early period of the ſeſſion voted for the ſea ſervice, and before the receſs the ſecretary at war moved, "that one hundred and eleven thouſand

ſand men be voted for the land ſervice, excluſive of militia, amounting with the additional volunteer companies to forty-two thouſand. The foreign troops in Britiſh pay were calculated at twenty-four thouſand, and the artillery at ſix thouſand. The entire aggregate of this formidable force, therefore, fell little ſhort of two hundred and ſeventy thouſand men, without including the troops ſerving upon the Iriſh or Indian eſtabliſhments. To ſupport this vaſt force twelve millions were raiſed by way of loan, in addition to the permanent means of ſupply; and thoſe who moſt deplored the incredible and enormous folly which had reduced the nation to a ſituation ſo critical and dangerous, could not but view with pleaſure and aſtoniſhment the power, the riches, and the ſpirit now diſplayed in defence of all that was dear and valuable to a free and independent people. The oppoſition in parliament had been for ſome time paſt gradually acquiring ſtrength; and the nation at large, notwithſtanding their original predilection for the war, began at length to be ſeriouſly alarmed at the magnitude of the conteſt, and the prodigious and ruinous expence with which it was attended. The undiſguiſed and unexampled profuſion which pervaded every department of government could not but ſtrike the moſt careleſs obſerver; and,

on a ſudden, ŒCONOMY became the prevailing and popular cry throughout the kingdom.

Early in the new year, 1780, public meetings were convened in moſt of the principal counties, and petitions to parliament were framed, with the laudable and expreſs view of eſtabliſhing a ſyſtem founded upon principles of ſtrict and diſintereſted frugality. The county of York, with great propriety and effect, took the lead on this occaſion. In their petition to the houſe of commons they earneſtly requeſted, "that, before any new burdens were laid upon this country, effectual meaſures might be taken by that houſe to enquire into and correct the groſs abuſes in the expenditure of the public money; to reduce all exorbitant emoluments; to reſcind and aboliſh all ſinecure places and unmerited penſions; and to appropriate the produce to the neceſſities of the ſtate in ſuch manner as to the wiſdom of parliament ſhould ſeem meet." This petition was preſented to the houſe on the 8th of February, 1780, by ſir George Saville, member for the county, who ſtated, that it was ſigned by above eight thouſand freeholders. This petition, he ſaid, had been procured by no underhand arts or public canvaſs; it was firſt moved in a meeting of ſix hundred gentlemen; and there was, he believed, more property in the hall where it was

was agreed to, than was contained within the walls of the houſe of commons. It was a petition, he ſaid, to which the adminiſtration would not DARE to refuſe a hearing, however the arts of miniſterial artifice and fineſſe might be employed to defeat the purpoſe of it *." A number of other petitions of ſimilar import being preſented, Mr. Burke at length brought forward a ſpecific plan of reform, profeſſedly aiming at two grand

* The chief and almoſt the only oppoſer of this famous petition was a Mr. Leonard Smelt, who had formerly occupied the important office of ſub-governor to the prince of Wales. This gentleman, in an elaborate harangue, avowed and vindicated the principles of Toryiſm in their full extent. He declared "the influence of the crown not to be exorbitant—on the contrary, that the king's hands ought to be ſtrengthened—that the proceedings of that day tended to confuſion, as aiming to put the king under the guardianſhip of parliament, and to incite to an illegal interference with the prerogative. He charged his opponents with wanting to withdraw the ſacred veil that hides from the people the ſplendor of majeſty. He inſiſted upon the immortality and impeccability of the king—affirming the protection of the ſovereign to be the liberty of the ſubject. He exclaimed againſt the Whigs, as actuated by an illiberal and ſelfiſh policy—quoting the well known aphoriſm of ſir Robert Walpole, "that every man had his price." The Whigs had uſurped the power, and left the name only to the king. The Whigs had cauſed the war in America, and fomented the diſturbances in Ireland. Lord Chatham, though he had glared a meteor in a ſtorm, wanted the qualifications neceſſary to a miniſter in times of peace. He repeated, that the calamities of the country did not originate from the influence of the king, but from his not poſſeſſing

grand objects: "first, the reduction of the national expenditure; second, the diminution of regal influence—that influence which took away all vigor from our arms, wisdom from our councils, and every shadow of authority and credit from the most venerable parts of the constitution."—To effect these purposes, Mr. Burke moved for leave to bring in certain bills for the better regulation of his majesty's civil establishments, for the sale of forest and other crown lands, for more perfectly uniting to the crown the principality of Wales, the counties palatine of Chester and Lancaster, and the duchy of Cornwall. But these bills, after a violent conflict, in the course of which the minister was more than once left in a minority, were finally lost.

A notice given by colonel Barré of an intention to move for the appointment of a select committee to inspect the public accounts, seemed, however, to meet with universal approbation.

possessing influence enough. He did not think that at this time there was a disinterested patriot in Britain. If, said this courtly orator, there is one, he now sits upon the throne. And he vehemently deprecated that *false principle* on which parliament was called to interfere with the prerogative of the crown." As containing the opinions of an isolated individual, this speech could excite no other emotion than contempt: but considering Mr. Smelt as the organ of a dark, subtle, and inveterate court-faction, it was calculated to excite the highest alarm, resentment, and indignation.

It

It was for that reaſon, therefore, artfully and unfairly taken up by the miniſter himſelf, who abruptly brought in a bill, contrary to the remonſtrances of colonel Barré, and the concurring reſentment of a large proportion of the houſe, for inſtituting a commiſſion of accounts, conſiſting of perſons *not members* of the houſe of commons. This was deemed unparliamentary, and in ſtrong language oppoſed as an abdication of the rights and privileges of the houſe. But it paſſed into a law by a conſiderable majority; and the ſucceſſive reports of the commiſſioners appointed in virtue of this act, form, by their accuracy, ability, and impartiality, the beſt reply the various objections urged againſt it.

The houſe of peers in the mean time were far from being indolent or inattentive ſpectators of the intereſting ſcenes now paſſing. On the very day that the petition of the county of York was preſented to the houſe of commons, the earl of Shelburne moved, in the houſe of peers, "for the appointment of a committee of members of both houſes of parliament, poſſeſſing neither employments nor penſions, to examine into the public expenditure, and the mode of accounting for the ſame." This motion was ſupported by his lordſhip in a very able ſpeech, in which he declared, "that the great point to which his wiſhes tended, and to effect which his motion

was

was chiefly framed, was to annihilate that undue influence operating upon both houſes of parliament, which, if not eradicated, would prove the deſtruction of this country. To reſtore to parliament its conſtitutional independence, and to place government upon its true foundations, wiſdom, juſtice, and public virtue, was (the noble earl ſaid) his moſt earneſt deſire, and this could not be effected without ſtriking at the root of parliamentary corruption.—Excluſive of this great and primary object, his lordſhip ſhewed, that the moſt ſhameful waſte of the public money had taken place in every branch of the national expenditure. To ſupport a moſt ruinous and diſgraceful war—a wicked, bloody, and unjuſt war! the miniſter had borrowed year after year upon fictitious and unproductive taxes, and anticipated the produce of the ſinking fund to anſwer his own views. Solely intent upon BORROWING, he appeared to have loſt ſight of every idea of decreaſing the debt. It was the uncontroled poſſeſſion of the public purſe which created that corrupt and dangerous influence in parliament, of which ſuch fatal uſe had been made; which put into the miniſter's hands the means of deluſion, which ſerved to fortify him in his mad career, and which left no hope or proſpect of puniſhing him for the enormity of his crimes. Influence ſo employed his lordſhip declared to be

be a curſe far greater, and more to be deprecated, than peſtilence or famine. The preſent motion, the noble earl obſerved, was not of a nature novel to parliament; in former times, particularly in the years 1702, 1703, and 1717, there had been commiſſioners of accounts appointed by act of parliament. The object of the propoſition now before the houſe was of a nature exactly ſimilar, and it went to the abolition of all offices, whatever their ſalaries or appointments, that anſwered no other end but that of increaſing the undue and unconſtitutional influence of the crown." In ſupport of the motion, the duke of Grafton declared, "that, from his own knowledge and immediate obſervation, he could aſſert with confidence that the ſpirit of diſcontent and diſſatisfaction was almoſt univerſally gone forth, and that the petitions recently preſented expreſſed the genuine ſenſe of the people." On the other hand, lord Cheſterfield, a young man not AS YET diſtinguiſhed by the eminence either of his knowledge or talents, and who had lately taken his ſeat in the houſe on the deceaſe of his illuſtrious relation, the famous earl of Cheſterfield, affirmed, with ſingular temerity, that "the majority of the people were well contented under the preſent government, and that the county petitions and aſſociations were the laſt ſtruggles of an EXPIRING FACTION." The lords Stormont, Mansfield,

Mansfield, and the lord chancellor, maintained, with far more plauſibility, "that the preſent motion was a violation of the inherent excluſive privilege of the other houſe to controul the public expenditure, which no compoſition, compromiſe, or compact, would induce them to part with. They inſiſted that the motion was brought forward to embarraſs government, and to throw an odium upon his majeſty's confidential adviſers; and that the petitions with which the motion was connected were filled with abſurd and impracticable notions of public reform, and ſpecious theories calculated to miſlead the nation, and to introduce univerſal confuſion." The marquis of Rockingham diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the debate by an animated ſpeech in defence of the motion. His lordſhip ſaid, "that a ſyſtem had been formed at the acceſſion of his majeſty to govern this country under the *forms of law*, but in reality through the immediate influence of the crown. This was the origin of all our national misfortunes; the meaſures of the preſent reign wore every internal and external evidence of that dangerous and alarming origin; and, when combined, they preſented ſuch a ſyſtem of corruption, venality, and deſpotiſm, as had never perhaps been known under any *form* of free and limited government. This ſyſtem he had for ſeventeen years uniformly and vigorouſly oppoſed, and particularly during the ſhort

ſhort time he had preſided at the head of the Treaſury, but to very little purpoſe. As he had come into office at his majeſty's deſire, ſo he had quitted it in obedience to his authority. His lordſhip implored the miniſtry not to perſiſt in that blind and hitherto invincible ſpirit of obſtinacy, which had brought the nation into its preſent calamitous ſituation, but to pay ſome attention to the voice of the people, and the intereſts of their country." On the diviſion the numbers were, NON-CONTENTS 101, CONTENTS 55, five-and-thirty of whom entered their proteſt on the journals. This was the largeſt minority that had for many years been known in the houſe of peers in oppoſition to the court; and, excluſive of placemen, penſioners, and biſhops, this expiring faction conſtituted a clear and deciſive majority of the lords preſent at this intereſting diſcuſſion.

On the 6th of April the houſe of commons reſolved itſelf, on the motion of Mr. Dunning, into a grand committee, in order to take the petitions of the people into conſideration; and on this occaſion a moſt extraordinary and memorable debate aroſe. "The firſt object," Mr. Dunning ſaid, "which he meant to ſubmit to the houſe, was a propoſition collected from the ſeveral petitions, which, if agreed to, would eſtabliſh the grounds of their prayer for redreſs. His ſecond propoſition ſhould include the means of that redreſs. Should the houſe

houſe concur in his propoſitions, he meant to follow them up with real, ſubſtantial, and practicable meaſures. But, ſhould they diſſent from them, or endeavour to evade or procraſtinate, there would be at once an end of the petitions and a full anſwer to the petitioners. His firſt motion was, that it ſhould be reſolved by this houſe, "that the INFLUENCE of the CROWN had increaſed, was increaſing, and ought to be diminiſhed." This motion was, by a ſingular fortune, warmly ſupported by the ſpeaker of the houſe, who, though rarely accuſtomed to take part in their debates, declared, "that, on an occaſion like the preſent, he ſhould deem himſelf criminal in remaining ſilent; the reſolution propoſed contained an allegation which was too notorious to require proof—which in its full extent did not admit of proof—it could be known only to the members of that houſe:—as they were the only perſons competent to reſolve it, they were bound as jurors by the conviction ariſing in their own minds, and were obliged to determine accordingly. The powers conſtitutionally veſted in the executive part of the government were (he ſaid) amply ſufficient for all the purpoſes of good government, but its undue influence had increaſed to a degree abſolutely incompatible with every juſt idea of a limited monarchy. What the petitioners demanded ſhould have originated within thoſe walls; they were ſitting as the repreſenta-

tives

tives of the people, ſolely for their advantage and benefit, and were pledged to them for the faithful diſcharge of their truſt." Notwithſtanding the determined oppoſition of the miniſter and of the courtiers in general, particularly of the lord advocate of Scotland, Henry Dundas, who moved, as an amendment, to prefix the words "it is now neceſſary to declare," it appeared on the diviſion, which took place at midnight, on the amended reſolution, that the numbers were in favor of the motion two hundred and thirty-three, againſt it two hundred and fifteen; ſo that the court was left in a minority of eighteen *. Mr. Dunning then moved, "that it was competent to that houſe to examine into and to correct abuſes in the expenditure of the civil liſt, as well as in every other branch of the public revenue, whenever it ſhall ſeem expedient to the houſe to do ſo."

* It is remarkable that, of thirty-three Scotch members who were preſent in the houſe of commons on this memorable occaſion, twenty-eight voted againſt the motion of Mr. Dunning—a ſtriking proof how greatly the influence of the crown was increaſed by the union of the kingdoms; as indeed, through ſome ſtrange fatality, by almoſt every great political event, whether originating in folly or wiſdom, whether terminating in ſucceſs or misfortune, which has taken place in this country during the courſe of the preſent century. The influence of the crown in its exiſting ſtate is a monſter unknown to the conſtitution, and which, if the conſtitution is unable to deſtroy, muſt ultimately be the deſtroyer of it. "The influence of the crown," ſaid the earl of Chatham in an intereſting debate in

ſo." This was again oppoſed by lord North, who, in the ſtrongeſt terms, expreſſed his wiſhes that the committee would not proceed. The motion was nevertheleſs agreed to by the houſe. Mr. Thomas Pitt then moved, "that it was the duty of that houſe to provide, as far as might be, an immediate and effectual redreſs of the abuſes complained of in the petitions preſented to the houſe from the different counties, cities, and towns, in this kingdom." The miniſter once more earneſtly implored the committee to deſiſt, but with no effect; the motion was agreed to. It was laſtly moved by Mr. Fox, "that the reſolutions ſhould be immediately reported to the houſe; which was deprecated and proteſted againſt by lord North, as violent, arbitrary, and contrary to the eſtabliſhed uſage of parliament. The motion, however, was carried; and the chairman reporting the reſolutions accordingly, they were ſeverally agreed to by the houſe.

On the 10th of April, the committee being

the houſe of lords, May 1771, "is become ſo enormous that ſtronger bulwarks muſt be erected for the defence of the conſtitution. The Septennial Act muſt be repealed. Formerly the inconveniences attending ſhort parliaments had great weight with me, but now we are not debating a queſtion of convenience. OUR ALL IS AT STAKE. OUR WHOLE CONSTITUTION IS GIVING WAY; and with the moſt deliberate and ſolemn conviction I profeſs myſelf a convert to triennial parliaments."

reſumed,

reſumed, Mr. Dunning congratulated the houſe upon the late deciſions, which he however ſaid could avail little unleſs the houſe proceeded effectually to remedy the grievances complained of by the people. The alarming and increaſing influence of the crown being now admitted by a ſolemn deciſion of that houſe, it was incumbent upon them to go from generals to particulars. With a view therefore of extirpating that corrupt influence, he ſhould move, "that there be laid before the houſe every ſeſſion, within ſeven days after the meeting of parliament, an account of all moneys paid out of the civil revenue to, or for the uſe of, or in truſt for, any member of parliament ſince the laſt receſs." This was objected to by lord North, the lord advocate of Scotland, the attorney-general Wedderburne, &c. but was carried without a diviſion. Mr. Dunning then moved, "that the perſons holding the offices of treaſurer of the chamber, treaſurer of the houſehold, cofferer of the houſehold, comptroller of the houſehold, maſter of the houſehold, clerks of the green cloth, and their deputies, ſhould be rendered incapable of a ſeat in that houſe." This was again oppoſed, and by the ſame perſons, as before; but, on a diviſion, was carried by a majority of two hundred and fifteen to two hundred and thirteen voices. So far the patriotic party in parliament

had triumphantly proceeded, to the infinite joy of the disintereſted and independent part of the public, when the ſudden illneſs of the ſpeaker obliged the houſe to adjourn to the 24th of April; on which day, the committee being reſumed, Mr. Dunning moved for an addreſs, "that his majeſty would be pleaſed not to diſſolve the parliament or prorogue the preſent ſeſſion until the objects of the petitions were anſwered." When the houſe, after a vehement debate, came to a diviſion on this important queſtion, it was at once diſcovered that the unfortunate illneſs of the ſpeaker, "whoſe health was never better worth than now," had infected "the very life-blood of their enterpriſe,"—the motion being rejected by a majority of 254 to 203.

During the receſs, a ſudden and fatal change had taken place in the temper and diſpoſition of the houſe; and that influence of the crown which the parliament had determined *ought to be diminiſhed*, was, as it now appeared, too firmly eſtabliſhed to be in danger of diminution. Mr. Fox roſe after the diviſion, and in the moſt poignant language reprobated the conduct of thoſe men who had thus receded from the ſolemn engagements they had ſo recently entered into; and Mr. Dunning ſcrupled not to charge theſe members with direct treachery to the nation,

tion, conſidering this reſolution as an effectual bar to all future means and efforts of redreſs. So indeed it proved; for when, on a ſubſequent reſumption of the ſubject, he moved "that the two reſolutions paſſed on the 10th of April be reported," a motion was made from the oppoſite ſide of the houſe, "that the chairman leave the chair," which, on a diviſion, was carried by a majority of 177 to 134 voices:—and thus miſerably ended thoſe deliberations, which once diſplayed ſo fair and flattering a proſpect of political reform; and thus contemptuouſly were the petitions of more than one hundred thouſand electors conſigned to everlaſting oblivion.

It is neceſſary to recall to our recollection, that an act of parliament had paſſed in the courſe of the ſeſſion of 1778, relieving the Roman-catholics from ſome of the heavier penalties inflicted upon them in the laſt century. This act ſeemed to be well approved in England; but the fanatical ſpirit, unextinguiſhed ſince the days of Knox, and which at the preſent period diſcovered itſelf by unequivocal ſymptoms in Scotland, prevented the extenſion of this very defective and imperfect toleration to that kingdom. On the bare ſuſpicion of the intended indulgence, great tumults took place at Edinburgh and Glaſgow, the Popiſh chapel in the

metropolis was deſtroyed, and the houſes of the principal Catholics attacked and plundered; on which the lord provoſt publiſhed a ſingular proclamation, aſcribing the riots to the "apprehenſions, fears, and diſtreſſed minds of well-meaning people, and aſſuring them that no repeal of the Penal Statutes would take place." Encouraged by this wretched puſillanimity, the fanatics formed themſelves into a ſociety, ſtyled the "Proteſtant Aſſociation," to oppoſe any remiſſion of the preſent perſecuting laws againſt the Papiſts, and of this aſſociation lord George Gordon was choſen preſident—a man in the higheſt degree wild, eccentric, and enthuſiaſtical. This aſſociation was gradually extended to England, and much pains were taken by inflammatory harangues and pamphlets to prejudice the minds of the vulgar againſt the late wiſe and ſalutary relaxation of the penal code. It was at length determined to prepare a petition for a repeal of the law in queſtion, which is affirmed to have obtained one hundred and twenty thouſand ſignatures, *or marks*, of men of the loweſt orders of ſociety, whoſe exceſs of zeal could be equalled only by the groſſneſs of their ignorance;—a combination of qualities at once ridiculous and terrible. Lord George Gordon, who was himſelf a member of the houſe of commons,

commons, declined to preſent this petition, unleſs he were accompanied to the houſe by at leaſt twenty thouſand men.

A public meeting of the aſſociation was, in conſequence, convened in St. George's Fields, June 2, 1780, whence it was ſuppoſed that not leſs than fifty thouſand perſons proceeded in regular diviſions, with lord George Gordon at their head, to the houſe of commons, where their petition was preſented by their preſident. Towards evening this multitude began to grow very tumultuous, and groſsly inſulted various members of both houſes, compelling them, in paſſing to and from the houſe, to cry, No Popery! and to wear blue cockades. During the debates on the petition, lord George Gordon frequently addreſſed the mob without, in terms calculated to inflame their paſſions, and expreſsly ſtating to them, "that the people of Scotland had no redreſs till they pulled down the Popiſh chapels." After the adjournment of the houſe, the mob, on this ſuggeſtion, immediately proceeded to the demolition of the chapels of the Sardinian and Bavarian ambaſſadors. The military being ordered out, could not prevent the miſchief, but apprehended various of the ringleaders.

The next day, Saturday, paſſed quietly; but on Sunday the rioters re-aſſembled in vaſt num-

bers, and deſtroyed the chapels and private dwellings belonging to the principal Catholics in the vicinity of Moorfields.

On Monday they extended their devaſtations to other parts of the town; and ſir George Saville's houſe, in Leiceſter Fields, was totally demoliſhed by theſe blind and barbarous bigots —that diſtinguiſhed ſenator and patriot having had the honor to be the firſt mover of the bill.

On Tueſday, the day appointed for taking the petition into conſideration, the mob again ſurrounded the Parliament Houſe, and renewed their outrages and inſults. The houſe, after paſſing ſome reſolutions adapted to the occaſion, and expreſſive of their juſt indignation, immediately adjourned. In the evening the populace, now grown more daring than ever, attacked the priſon of Newgate, where their comrades were confined, with aſtoniſhing reſolution, and, ſetting the building in flames, liberated more than three hundred felons and debtors reſident within its walls. Encouraged by the impunity with which they had hitherto acted, they now proceeded to lord Mansfield's houſe in Bloomſbury-ſquare, which they totally demoliſhed, his lordſhip eſcaping not without difficulty. The priſons of Clerkenwell were alſo forced, many private houſes plundered or deſtroyed, and ſcarcely did the night afford any ceſſation of the riots.

On

On the ſucceeding day, the mob, rendered more deſperate by the miſchiefs and villanies they had already perpetrated, attacked with incredible fury the houſes of various individuals, chiefly Catholics, which they had previouſly marked for deſtruction. In the evening the King's Bench, the Fleet Priſon, and the New Compter, were ſet on fire, and, with a prodigious number of private dwellings in different parts of the town burning at the ſame time, formed a tremendous ſcene of conflagration, to which London, ſince the great fire of 1666, had ſeen nothing parallel or ſimilar.

The ſame day attempts were made by the rioters on the Bank and Pay-Office; but theſe, being ſtrongly guarded, happily eſcaped that deſtruction which muſt have involved the whole nation in irreparable diſtreſs and ruin. What appeared moſt to excite the public indignation was the criminal ſupineneſs of the magiſtracy of London * during theſe horrible commotions, apparently threatening to lay the metropolis of the

* It moſt aſſuredly was not forgotten that Mr. Gillam, an excellent magiſtrate of the county of Surry, was tried at the Old Bailey for his life, in conſequence of the order given by him at the riots in St. George's Fields, A. D. 1768, for the military to fire, after long and patiently enduring the ſevereſt provocations from the rioters, and twice reading the Riot Act. Such a precedent could not but tend, in ſimilar emergencies, moſt dangerouſly to enfeeble the power of the executive government.

empire

empire level with the ground, and which actually presented in many parts the image of a city stormed and sacked.

At length the king himself declared, with laudable resolution, in council, "that, although the magistrates had not done their duty, he would not be deficient in his;" and general orders were immediately transmitted to the military to fire upon the rioters, without waiting for directions from the civil magistrate; in consequence of which the slaughter was terrible; but in a short time the commotions were effectually suppressed, and by Thursday noon order and tranquillity were perfectly restored.

On that day lord George Gordon was taken into custody, and, after a strict examination before the privy council, committed close prisoner to the Tower on a charge of HIGH TREASON, for which there does not appear to have been sufficient ground, and on his trial he was subsequently acquitted. An impeachment by the house of commons for high crimes and misdemeanours would have been a mode of procedure far more eligible and efficacious, and would indubitably have insured that punishment which his rash and insolent conduct so justly merited.

A special commission was issued for the trial of the rioters, of whom a very great number, consisting of men very opposite in description

and

and character, were apprehended. Lord chief-juſtice De Grey, whoſe mild and benignant diſpoſition, as well as his infirm health, was ill-ſuited to this painful taſk, willingly reſigning his office, the attorney-general Wedderburne was advanced to the chief juſticeſhip, under the title of lord Loughborough. The multiplicity combined with the precipitate and indiſcriminate ſeverity of the ſentences, paſſed in his judicial capacity by this magiſtrate upon the rioters, far exceeded any thing known in this country ſince the days of judge Jefferies: ſuch indeed as left the memory of theſe tranſactions impreſſed upon the public mind in indelible characters of blood.

On the 19th of June the parliament met purſuant to their adjournment, and the king, going in ſtate to the houſe of peers, made a very judicious ſpeech, "lamenting the neceſſity which had obliged him, by every tie of duty and affection to his people, to employ the force entruſted to him for the ſuppreſſion of thoſe acts of felony and treaſon, which had overborne all civil authority, and threatened the immediate ſubverſion of all legal power, the deſtruction of all property, and the confuſion of every order in the ſtate;—at the ſame time renewing his aſſurances, that he had no other object than to make the laws

laws of the realm, and the principles of the conſtitution, the rule and meaſure of his conduct."

An addreſs of thanks was deſervedly voted in reply to this ſpeech, without a ſingle negative.—The general effect of theſe recent commotions was very favorable to adminiſtration, by inſpiring a too-well founded dread of popular interpoſition in any ſhape or upon any occaſion, however apparently tending to the accompliſhment of the moſt deſirable and ſalutary purpoſes. After this, nothing of material import paſſed in either houſe of parliament, and on the 8th of July, 1780, an end was put to the preſent ſeſſion.

The political alienation which had for ſome years taken place between England and Holland became daily more viſible and notorious. A requiſition had been made by the court of London to the States General, ſoon after the declaration of war againſt Spain, for the ſuccors ſtipulated by the treaty of 1678, confirmed by various ſubſequent agreements; but no anſwer could be obtained from their High Mightineſſes. On the contrary, loud complaints were made of the conduct of the Engliſh court, which had cauſed to be ſeized, and carried into the different ports of Great Britain, ſhips belonging to the ſubjects of the republic, navigated under the faith of treaties, and not laden with contraband goods.—This, no doubt, was in many inſtances the fact. On the other

other hand, Great Britain complained, with equal truth, that France received from Holland continual ſupplies of naval and military ſtores, contrary to the faith of treaties; and that the principle of ſelf-defence warranted the ſeizure and detention of all veſſels laden with ſuch exceptionable cargoes.

On the 1ſt of January, 1780, commodore Fielding fell in with a fleet of Dutch merchant ſhips off Portland, convoyed by a ſmall ſquadron of men of war, commanded by count Byland. Captain Fielding deſiring permiſſion to viſit the merchant ſhips, in order to aſcertain whether they contained any contraband goods, was refuſed by the Dutch admiral; on which he fired a ſhot a-head of the count, who returned a broadſide: commodore Fielding did the ſame, and then the Dutch immediately ſtruck their colors. Such of the merchant ſhips as had naval ſtores on board were ſtopped, and the Dutch admiral was informed that he was at liberty to hoiſt his colors and proſecute his voyage. But he refuſed to quit his convoy, and accompanied the commodore to Portſmouth. A memorial in ſtrong and reſentful terms was preſented by count Welderen, by order of the States, in conſequence of this tranſaction, which was repreſented as a direct attack upon the independence and ſovereignty of their High Mightineſſes,

tineſſes, and a peremptory demand made of reparation and redreſs, to which no regard was paid. But on the 17th of April a declaration was publiſhed by the king of Great Britain, by which it was announced, "that repeated memorials having been preſented by his majeſty's ambaſſador to the States General, demanding the ſuccours ſtipulated by treaty, to which requiſition they had given no anſwer, nor ſignified any intention of compliance, his majeſty conſidered their High Mightineſſes as having deſerted the alliance that had ſo long ſubſiſted between Great Britain and the Republic: and his majeſty from this time ſuſpended, proviſionally, all the ſtipulations of the ſeveral exiſting treaties, particularly of the marine treaty concluded at London A. D. 1674."

Holland was, however, far from being ſingular in her complaints reſpecting the violated rights of neutrality. The powers of the Baltic, with a firmer tone, and in more decided language, declared their reſolution to adopt ſuch meaſures as were neceſſary for their own ſecurity. Early in the ſpring, 1780, the empreſs of Ruſſia addreſſed a declaration to the courts of London, Verſailles, and Madrid, containing an explicit ſtatement of the principles on which ſhe had determined to act for the removal of thoſe moleſtations which had interrupted the navigation

of

of her ſubjects, and for the protection of the liberty of commerce in general.

The radical principles here laid down were :— I. That neutral ſhips ſhould enjoy a free navigation even from port to port, and on the coaſts of the belligerent powers.—II. That all effects belonging to the ſubjects of the belligerent powers ſhall be looked upon as free on board ſuch neutral ſhips, excepting only warlike ſtores or ammunition—but neither the veſſels, paſſengers, nor the reſt of the goods, ſhall be liable to ſeizure or detention. "To theſe principles," her Imperial majeſty declared, "ſhe was firmly reſolved to adhere; and, for the honor of her flag, and the ſecurity of her ſubjects, ſhe had ordered a conſiderable part of her naval forces to be equipped, to act wherever her honor, intereſt, or neceſſity, ſhould require."

Denmark and Sweden acceding in form to this declaration of Ruſſia, and ordering ſimilar equipments of their marine, this confederacy of the powers of the north acquired the appellation of "the armed neutrality;" and the baſis on which it was founded ſeemed to give univerſal ſatisfaction throughout Europe—England alone, againſt whom it was manifeſtly levelled, excepted.

In the anſwer of the king of France it was ſaid, that what her Imperial majeſty claimed from the belligerent powers was nothing elſe than

than the rules actually prescribed to the French navy, and that solid advantages must result from this measure, not only to the subjects of Russia, but to all nations." The reply of England was cold, and civilly evasive; but this measure in reality excited so deep a resentment, that the conduct of England respecting Russia, for several years succeeding this period, may be ascribed chiefly, or solely, to the alienation and hatred originating in the present obnoxious procedure.

The war between Great Britain and Spain had scarcely commenced when the blockade of Gibraltar was formed by sea and land, and the hope of recovering that fortress probably operated as no inconsiderable inducement with Spain to engage in the present war.

Early in the year 1780, sir George Rodney, an officer distinguished by his gallant exertions in the late war, was appointed to the command of a powerful fleet, destined for the relief of that place, having on board prince William Henry, the third son of his majesty. On the northern coast of Spain he fell in with a convoy of twenty-two merchant ships, richly laden, under the protection of a squadron of seven ships of war, to which he immediately gave chace, and in a few hours the whole were taken. This success was, however, only the prelude to another and much greater.

On

On the 16th of January, off Cape St. Vincent, he deſcried a Spaniſh ſquadron, conſiſting of fourteen ſail of the line, which he directly bore down upon, and, notwithſtanding the ſtormineſs incident to the ſeaſon, taking the lee-gage, in order to prevent the enemy from retreating into their own ports; at four in the afternoon the action began, and in little more than half an hour one of the Spaniſh ſhips blew up with a dreadful exploſion. The engagement nevertheleſs continued with unabating fury in the midſt of darkneſs and confuſion, and before morning the Phœnix of 80 guns, Don Juan de Langara, the Spaniſh admiral's own ſhip; the Monarca, the Princeſſa, the Diligenti, of 70 guns each, ſtruck their colors; the St. Julien and St. Eugenio were alſo captured, but through the violence of the tempeſt were afterwards driven on ſhore and loſt. The others eſcaped in a very ſhattered condition; and the whole ſquadron, as to any immediate capability of ſervice, might be conſidered as annihilated. Though the force of admiral Rodney was greatly ſuperior, his ſkill and courage were fully apparent in the mode of conducting the attack, which the violence of the ſtorm, the darkneſs of the night, and the vicinity of a lee-ſhore every where encircled with ſhoals and breakers, rendered very dangerous. The admiral's own ſhip, the Sandwich,

and ſeveral others, were in extreme hazard of being loſt on the ſhoals of St. Lucar, and did not get into deep water till the next day.

After effecting the primary object of his commiſſion, the relief of Gibraltar, ſir George Rodney proceeded to the Weſt Indies, ſending home his prizes under the care of admiral Digby, who on his paſſage captured the Prothée, a French ſhip of 64 guns, and part of her convoy of merchant ſhips.

No ſooner had admiral Rodney taken upon him the command in the Weſt Indies, than every poſſible exertion was made to bring on a general action, which count de Guichen, who commanded the French fleet, cautiouſly avoided; but intelligence being received that in the night of the 15th of April, 1780, they had put to ſea with their whole force, admiral Rodney, who was ſtationed at St. Lucie, immediately followed, and early on the morning of the 17th came in ſight of the enemy; at noon the admiral made the ſignal for a general and cloſe engagement, ſetting himſelf a noble example of courage to the fleet by bearing down upon the French admiral, whom he fought with unremitting fury till the enemy bore away, leaving the Sandwich, which, from cauſes not eaſily or clearly aſcertainable, was very ill ſupported in this action, a mere wreck upon the water. Other partial and inde-

indecisive encounters also took place, in which little inferiority of skill or courage was discernible on the part of the French officers or seamen.

During these transactions in the West Indies, Don Galvez, the Spanish governor of Louisiana, reduced the British settlements on the Mississippi, and had made great progress in the conquest of the province of West Florida, though Penfacola held out to the next year.

As a very inadequate counterbalance to these successes, an expedition had been undertaken from Jamaica to the Spanish main; and the fortress of Omoa, which contained a considerable booty in specie and merchandise, was taken by storm, but soon afterwards evacuated. A very heavy misfortune in the autumn of this year took place, in the entire capture of the outward-bound East and West India fleets, in the Bay of Biscay, by the Spaniards—a loss which had no parallel in the naval and commercial history of Great Britain, since the famous capture of the Smyrna fleet in the reign of king WILLIAM.

The war in the northern provinces of America seemed throughout the whole of the summer of 1780 to be almost at a stand. On the 10th of July, a large body of French troops commanded by the comte de Rochambeau, under convoy of a considerable fleet, arrived at Rhode Island. This the comte assured the States was only the van-

guard of a much greater force deſtined by the king, his ſovereign, to their aid. A ſcheme was ſoon after formed by ſir Henry Clinton and admiral Arbuthnot, of a combined attack againſt the French and Americans at Rhode Iſland; and a large proportion of the forces ſtationed at New York were embarked for that purpoſe: but general Waſhington, by a rapid movement paſſing the North River, and advancing to New York, compelled them to deſiſt from their purpoſe.

It affords a grateful relief from the ſenſations which oppreſs the mind in liſtening to the tale of human folly and wretchedneſs, to revert to an act of the moſt exalted philanthropy paſſed about this period by the legiſlature of Pennſylvania to the following purport: "When we contemplate our abhorrence of the condition to which the arms and tyranny of Great Britain were exerted to reduce us—when we look back on the variety of dangers to which we have been expoſed, and the deliverances wrought when hope and fortitude have become unequal to the conteſt,—we conceive it to be our duty, and rejoice that it is in our power, to extend a portion of that freedom to others which hath been extended to us,—to add one more ſtep to univerſal civilization, by removing, as much as poſſible, the ſorrows of thoſe who have lived in undeſerved bondage. Weaned by a long courſe of experience

ence from thoſe narrow prejudices and partialities we had imbibed, we conceive ourſelves, at this particular period, called upon, by the bleſſings we have received, to manifeſt the ſincerity of our profeſſion. In juſtice, therefore, to perſons who, having no proſpect before them whereon they may reſt their ſorrows and their hopes, have no reaſonable inducement to render that ſervice to ſociety which otherwiſe they might; and alſo in grateful commemoration of our own happy deliverance from that ſtate of UNCONDITIONAL SUBMISSION to which we were doomed by the tyranny of Britain; BE IT ENACTED, That no child born hereafter ſhall be a SLAVE; that Negro and Mulatto children ſhall be ſervants only till twenty-eight years of age; that all ſlaves ſhall be regiſtered before the firſt of November next; that they ſhall be tried like other inhabitants; and that no Negroes or Mulattoes, other than infants, ſhall be bound for longer than ſeven years."—Such were the ſentiments, and ſuch the conduct, of a people once attached to Britain by every civil and ſocial tie by which either dignity or advantage could be derived or durability be hoped—but whom Britain, in the hour of her inſolence and infatuation, firſt attempted to treat as ſlaves, and then to puniſh as rebels.

Towards the autumn of the preſent year, a

remarkable event took place in the defection of general Arnold, who commanded a conſiderable body of troops at Weſt Point on the North River, and who had entered into a ſecret correſpondence with ſir Henry Clinton to betray into his hands that important poſt, and the whole of the troops entruſted to him. The military talents and ſucceſſes of Arnold had raiſed his reputation ſo high, that the danger of placing confidence in a man wholly deſtitute of honor and probity in private life was not ſufficiently adverted to. The intercourſe between the American and Engliſh generals was carried on through the medium of major André, a young man of ſingular accompliſhments, who had paſſed up the river unknown and unſuſpected from the head-quarters at New York to the poſt of Weſt Point. But on his return by land, September 23d, after eluding the vigilance of the regular patroles, he was apprehended in diſguiſe, and with a falſe paſſport, by three American privates, to whom he in vain offered great rewards if they would ſuffer him to eſcape. On examination, the papers found upon him, and which he had no opportunity to deſtroy, diſcovered all the particulars of the conſpiracy. His caſe being referred to a board of general officers, of which the marquis de la Fayette was one, they unanimouſly determined that he came under the denomination

nomination of a ſpy; and that, agreeably to the law and uſage of nations, he ought to ſuffer death; which, notwithſtanding the urgent ſolicitations and the impotent and injudicious menaces of ſir Henry Clinton, was on the 2d of October inflicted upon him in that degrading mode "which gives the brave the keeneſt wound." Such was the noble candor and magnanimity of his conduct conſequent on the diſcovery, that the high character of the American commander would have derived additional luſtre from indulging the earneſt and ſole requeſt of major André, to be permitted to die as a ſoldier, not as a felon. General Arnold, with great difficulty, on the apprehenſion of major André, made his eſcape to New York, and was immediately promoted to the rank of brigadier-general in the king's ſervice.

In the ſouthern provinces the events of the war were of a nature more important and intereſting. After the departure of ſir Henry Clinton from Carolina, lord Cornwallis was left with a force apparently very inadequate to maintain poſſeſſion of the province againſt the increaſing armies of the Americans, of which general Gates, the conqueror of Burgoyne, had now taken the command. The Britiſh forces, having advanced towards the north frontier of the province, found their farther progreſs intercepted by the enemy,

who with far ſuperior numbers were poſted near the town of Camden. Lord Cornwallis, ſenſible that a retreat would be equivalent to an abandonment of the recent conqueſts, determined to riſk an engagement; and in the night of the 15th of Auguſt, 1780, the troops were put in motion, in hope of ſurpriſing general Gates in his camp. That commander, with a view likewiſe to the ſurpriſal of lord Cornwallis, had marched his troops during the night to the attack of the Britiſh camp, and the advanced parties of the two armies unexpectedly met in a wood near Camden. A ſort of truce was obſerved till day-light appeared, when the action commenced on the part of the Britiſh general, who was well pleaſed to obſerve that the American commander had been under the neceſſity of taking a very diſadvantageous and confined poſition, bounded by ſwamps on both ſides, which prevented his making any efficacious uſe of his great ſuperiority of numbers. The militia, of whom general Gates's army chiefly conſiſted, unable to reſiſt the new and formidable attack of the bayonet, fled at the firſt onſet. The continental troops maintained, nevertheleſs, their ground with great reſolution; but finding themſelves totally deſerted by the militia, who could never be brought to rally, were compelled to retreat, leaving behind them their cannon, camp-equipage, and ſtores.

ſtores. This victory ſeems to have been the moſt complete which was obtained in the whole courſe of the war. The purſuit continued for more than twenty miles; and colonel Tarleton coming up with a detached corps at the Catawba fords under general Sumpter, charged them with ſuch vigor that they were inſtantly broken, and the greater part either cut to pieces or taken priſoners.

General Gates, who thus unfortunately at Camden ſaw thoſe laurels fade which he had ſo glorioufly acquired at Saratoga, now, with little apparent attention to the point of honor, left the ſhattered remains of his army to the care of a general Smallwood, and retired into North Carolina to conſult with the government of that province upon the means of future reſiſtance and defence.

Lord Cornwallis, eager to improve his victory to the utmoſt, advanced, as ſoon as the exceſſive heats incident to the climate and ſeaſon would permit, to the vicinity of Saliſbury, on the frontier of North Carolina, having firſt detached major Ferguſon to the weſtern ſide of the province to collect and arm the royaliſts in that quarter. No ſooner was the communication of this officer with lord Cornwallis interrupted by the extenſion of the diſtance, than a plan was formed to ſurround and cut him entirely off.

Divers

Divers corps of the provincial militia effected a rapid junction with the mountaineers of the weſtern diſtricts, under the command of colonels Williams and Cleveland, to the amount of ſeveral thouſand men, and, marching in queſt of Ferguſon, ſoon diſcovered his encampment on an eminence known by the name of King's Mountain. The Americans, dividing their force into different columns, aſcended the hill in various directions, and attacked the royaliſts with great fury. Major Ferguſon was ſucceſsful on whichever ſide he directed his efforts; but no ſooner was one diviſion driven back, than the former reſumed its ſtation, ſo that his exertions were entirely unavailing. But his unconquerable ſpirit diſdained all ideas of ſurrender, and the unequal conflict continued till this officer received a mortal wound; and no chance of eſcape being left, nor proſpect of ſucceſsful reſiſtance remaining, the ſecond in command ſued for quarter, which was granted, and more than eight hundred men laid down their arms, about three hundred being killed or wounded in the action.

This diſaſter was in its conſequences almoſt as fatal to lord Cornwallis as the affair of Trenton to general Howe. On the firſt intelligence of it his lordſhip retreated to Wynneſborough, where he was much haraſſed by the irregular but continual

tinual attacks of the provincials; and general Gates was enabled to write to the preſident of the congreſs, "The enemy have ſo far the worſt of the campaign, having loſt conſiderably more men, officers, and arms, than your army; and even loſt ground, as they had ſeveral poſts at the beginning of the campaign on the Pedee, all of which are now evacuated." But the exultation of the court-faction in England, on the intelligence of lord Cornwallis's victory at Camden, was extreme. Untaught by former diſappointments, all the flattering and favorite ideas of abſolute conqueſt and unconditional ſubmiſſion ſeemed for a time to be revived. "I have not the leaſt doubt," ſaid the American ſecretary of ſtate to lord Cornwallis in his diſpatch of November 9th, "from your lordſhip's vigorous and alert movements, that the whole country ſouth of the Delawar will be reſtored to the king's obedience in the courſe of the next campaign;"—this credulous and confident ſtateſman thinking, as is evident, that marching through the country was the ſame thing as ſubduing it. It is even poſſible that the animation inſpired by this ſucceſs contributed to the adoption of the violent counſels by which, at this period, matters were brought to the laſt extremity with the States General.

On the 3d of September, the Mercury, a con-

greſs

greſs packet, was taken by the Veſtal frigate off the banks of Newfoundland. On board this packet was Mr. Laurens, late preſident of the congreſs, charged with a commiſſion to Holland. On being brought to England, he was examined by the privy council, and committed cloſe priſoner to the Tower, on an accuſation of high treaſon. His papers, which had been thrown overboard, and by great dexterity and diligence recovered and deciphered, were found to contain the ſketch of a treaty of amity and commerce between the republic of Holland and the States of America. This treaty appeared to be in a train of negotiation, and to have received the ſanction and approbation of M. Van Berkel, counſellor and penſionary of Amſterdam. Such was the high offence taken by the court of London at this diſcovery, that immediate orders were tranſmitted to ſir Joſeph Yorke, to repreſent to the States General, that the States of Amſterdam, as appeared from the papers of the Sieur Laurens, calling himſelf preſident of the pretended congreſs, had entered into a clandeſtine correſpondence with the American rebels, and that inſtructions and powers had been given by them for the purpoſe of concluding a treaty of indiſſoluble friendſhip with the ſaid rebels. His Britannic majeſty, therefore, required not only a formal diſavowal of ſo irregular a con-

a conduct, but alſo inſiſted on ſpeedy ſatisfaction adequate to the offence, and the exemplary puniſhment of the penſionary Van Berkel and his accomplices, as diſturbers of the public peace and violators of the rights of nations; otherwiſe the king would be obliged to take ſuch ſteps as became his dignity and the intereſts of his ſubjects. The States General, though they paſſed without difficulty reſolutions of diſavowal and enquiry, delaying to give a formal and explicit anſwer to this declaration, a ſecond memorial was preſented by ſir Joſeph Yorke on the 12th of December, in which the ambaſſador requires an immediate and ſatisfactory anſwer from the States. "The king," he ſays, "has never imagined that your High Mightineſſes had approved of a treaty with his rebellious ſubjects. That had been raiſing the buckler on your part. But the offence has been committed by a city which makes a conſiderable part of the ſtate, and it belongs to the ſovereign power to puniſh and give ſatisfaction for it: and it will not be till the laſt extremity, in caſe of denial or ſilence, that the king will take them upon himſelf." The ambaſſador was now informed that the memorial would be taken *ad referendum* by the deputies of the reſpective provinces, according to the received cuſtom and conſtitution of their government. This being regarded as a palpable evaſion,

ſion, the ambaſſador received orders immediately to leave the Hague, and a declaration of war was publiſhed againſt Holland on the 20th of December 1780. This was a meaſure totally unexpected on the part of the States General, who were ill-prepared for ſuch a rupture. Before the departure of count Welderen, he delivered, by order of the States, a letter to lord Stormont, which his lordſhip returned unopened.

However unjuſt and indefenſible had been the policy of the Britiſh government, the hoſtile conduct of the Dutch, apparently proceeding leſs from a ſpirit of generous attachment to the cauſe of violated freedom than from a ſordid and avaricious ſelfiſhneſs, had rendered them the objects of the national reſentment and averſion. The declaration of war, therefore, which carried with it a reſemblance of vigor and even of magnanimity, was received with a great ſhare of approbation and applauſe. There were not, however, wanting thoſe who, without any prejudice in favor of Holland, heſitated not to affirm that this laſt act of the Britiſh miniſtry filled up the meaſure of their iniquity and abſurdity. "Where," ſaid they, "could be the civil or political offence for the ſubjects of a foreign ſtate to enter into proviſional agreements with the Americans which were not and could not be ſuppoſed valid till the recognition of American indepen-

independence had taken place, and which, in the very language of the inſtrument itſelf, profeſſed to be merely "outlines of a treaty of commerce, ſuch as *might be concluded hereafter*, between their High Mightineſſes and the United States of America?" If to maintain an amicable intercourſe of this indefinite nature with the Americans was criminal in the Dutch, Holland could be regarded in no other light than as a province of England. The king of England ſeemed not to recollect, that the ſubjects of the States General were not his ſubjects, or accountable to him for their actions. They farther affirmed, that a proviſional treaty or ſpeculative project, for it was no more, of peace and amity with America, did by no means neceſſarily imply enmity or ill-will to England:—that this treaty, whether it boded good or ill to England, had been already publicly and unreſervedly diſavowed by the Dutch government; and that nothing leſs than a direct and poſitive injury could, in the eye of reaſon, juſtify a denunciation of hoſtility.

As to the inſolent requiſition of exemplary puniſhment on the perſon of Van Berkel, who might, for any thing that appeared, be actuated by motives the moſt upright and patriotic, the king of England ought to have reflected, that the laws of England, in ſimilar circumſtances, would not

not have authoriſed him to have inflicted the ſlighteſt puniſhment on even the meaneſt of his ſubjects, who ſhould have formed the plan of a mere contingent agreement with the revolted provinces of another power, to take effect only when their claim of ſovereignty ſhould be actually recogniſed, and when the conditions ſhould be approved and ratified by the government to which alone they owed allegiance.

On the whole, it may ſafely be affirmed, that a more frivolous and invalid plea or pretext of national hoſtility has ſeldom been urged even by royal logicians. The folly of the meaſure alſo was no leſs obvious than its injuſtice: for, though Holland was attacked thus ſuddenly and unprepared, there could be no doubt but that ſhe would, in a ſhort time, become a potent acceſſion to the ſtrength of that formidable confederacy which ſeemed already to threaten the very exiſtence of Britain.

The FOURTEENTH PARLIAMENT of Great Britain was diſſolved by proclamation on the 1ſt of September, and a new parliament convened, which met on the 31ſt of October 1780.

On the event of this diſſolution, amidſt the multiplicity of election advertiſements uſual on ſuch occaſions, a very remarkable addreſs from ſir George Saville, member for the county of York, to his conſtituents, was publiſhed, well deſerving

deſerving the notice of hiſtory, as exhibiting the ſentiments not merely of that eminently diſtinguiſhed patriot, but of all intelligent, reflecting, and diſintereſted perſons, at this alarming period. In renewing the tender of his ſervices, he confeſſes, that "it has not been without much ſerious conſideration, and more than common heſitation, that he determined upon it. The ſatisfaction and honor," ſays this Ariſtides of Britain, "of attending your buſineſs have ever over-balanced the labor. But my attendance during the laſt parliament has been ſomething worſe than laborious—it has been diſcouraging, grievous, painful. Look back for a moment upon the things which have been done, or, being done, have been approved of by that body of which I have been a conſtituent part. In comparing the preſent with the paſt ſituation of public affairs, one conſolation only remains, that of being able to aſſert that there has been no meaſure of all thoſe that have proved ſo ruinous and fatal, which I have not, as an individual, reſiſted to the utmoſt of my power:—a poor, barren, ineffectual negative is indeed all the claim I can plead to your favor; and truth obliges me to add, that I at length return to you with hardly a ray of hope of ſeeing any change in the miſerable courſe of public calamities. On this melancholy day of account, in rendering up to you

my truſt, I deliver to you your ſhare of a country maimed and weakened—its treaſure laviſhed and miſſpent, its honors faded, and its conduct the laughing-ſtock of Europe;—our nation in a manner without allies or friends, except ſuch as we have hired to deſtroy our fellow-ſubjects, and to ravage a country in which we once claimed an invaluable ſhare.—Forbearing as well the forward promiſes as the ſuperficial humbleneſs of phraſe in uſe on theſe occaſions, I make it a ſolemn duty to lay before you, without diſguiſe or palliation, the preſent ſtate of your concerns, as they appear to me, and the gloomy proſpect which lies before us. Some have been accuſed of exaggerating the public misfortunes—nay, of having endeavoured to help forward the miſchief, that they might afterwards raiſe diſcontents. I am willing to hope that neither my temper nor my ſituation in life will be thought naturally to urge me to promote miſery, diſcord, or confuſion, or to exult in the ſubverſion of order, or the ruin of property. Truſt not, however, to my report: reflect, compare, and judge for yourſelves. But, under all theſe diſheartening circumſtances, I could yet entertain a cheerful hope, and undertake again the commiſſion with alacrity as well as zeal, if I could ſee any effectual ſteps taken to remove the *original cauſe* of the miſchief: THEN THERE

WOULD

WOULD BE A HOPE. Till the purity of the conſtituent body, and thereby that of the repreſentative, be reſtored, THERE IS NONE. I look upon reſtoring election and repreſentation in ſome degree—for I expect no miracles—to their original purity, to be that without which all other efforts will be vain and ridiculous."

For the accompliſhment of this moſt important purpoſe, he concludes with expreſſing his earneſt wiſh, " that whatever is thought of may be purſued with that true ſpirit of firmneſs and moderation which belongs to the cauſe of juſtice; and above all, that, by every means that can be deviſed, a good underſtanding and union may be inſured amongſt reſpectable men of all ranks and deſcriptions, who agree in the main principles of liberty, whatever differences may ſubſiſt in ſmaller points, or in matters not calling for immediate diſcuſſion."

At the meeting of the new parliament, Mr. Cornwall was, for reaſons which require no comment, choſen ſpeaker of the houſe of commons in the room of ſir Fletcher Norton, on a diviſion of 203 voices to 134. The KING, in his opening ſpeech, declared " his ſatisfaction in having an opportunity, by the recent election, of receiving the moſt certain information of the diſpoſition and *wiſhes of his people*, to which he was ALWAYS *inclined to pay the* UTMOST ATTENTION!

He acknowledged the arduous ſituation of public affairs; but the late ſignal ſucceſſes of his arms in Georgia and Carolina would, he truſted, have important conſequences, in bringing the war to a happy concluſion."

An amendment to the addreſs, conſiſting in the omiſſion of ſeveral complimentary paragraphs, was moved in the houſe of commons by Mr. Thomas Grenville. The BLESSINGS of his majeſty's reign being recogniſed in the propoſed addreſs, in high-flown terms, as inſpiring ſentiments of reverence and gratitude, Mr. Fox declared, "that in this part of the addreſs he could not concur, as he was yet to learn what thoſe BLESSINGS were. The preſent reign had been one continued tiſſue of diſgrace, misfortune, and calamity. As to the honorable mention made of the late ſucceſſes in America, and of the gallant officers by whom they had been obtained, he ſhould anſwer that he would not concur in applauding his own brother, who was now ſerving in America, for any ſucceſs he might obtain. He never had joined, and as long as he lived he never would join, in a vote of thanks to any officer whoſe laurels were gathered in the American war; for he regarded that war as the fountain-head of all the miſchief and miſery under which this country now labored: and he was well convinced that the miniſterial proſpects of

ſucceſs,

ſucceſs, however tranſiently flattering, would be cloſed in diſappointment and deluſion." The addreſs, as originally moved, was at length carried by a majority of 69 voices, which, when compared with the majorities of former times, afforded ſome faint gleam of hope that better days were gradually, though ſlowly, approaching.

Nothing meriting ſpecific notice paſſed in either houſe previous to the receſs of parliament; but on the 25th of January, 1781, two days only after they had re-aſſembled, lord North delivered to the houſe of commons a meſſage from the king, in which his majeſty acquainted them, "that, during the receſs of parliament, he had been obliged to direct letters of marque and general repriſal to be iſſued againſt the States General of the United Provinces. For the cauſes and motives of his conduct he referred to his public manifeſto, which, with various other papers, he had ordered to be laid before the houſe." At the cloſe of a long ſpeech, juſtificatory of the late meaſures of government, lord North moved, "That an addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, aſſuring him that the houſe would, with a firm and determined reſolution, ſupport the juſt and neceſſary war againſt Holland, for the maintenance of the honor of his crown, and the rights and intereſts of his people." This motion was ſeconded by lord Lewiſham; but it was not car-

ried without a long and animated debate, in which Mr. Thomas Townſhend, afterwards created Lord Sydney, particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf. He ſeverely cenſured "the late long adjournment, which was only calculated to free the executive government from the controul and inſpection of parliament, who had now only to ratify what the raſhneſs of miniſters had moſt inadviſedly done. In this manner had the houſe been led into the American war, that fatal ſource of all our calamities. In this manner had the French reſcript been announced; and afterwards the Spaniſh reſcript; and at length the declaration of war againſt Holland, our antient and natural ally. Year after year had the miniſter acquainted the houſe with a new enemy, but never had he yet brought them the welcome information of a new friend. Much had been ſaid of the provocations we had received from Holland, and the predominance of a French intereſt in that country—but had Holland received no provocation from us? The inſolence of the Britiſh memorial preſented to the States in 1777 contributed more than any thing elſe to the prevalence of the French faction in Holland. It had been ſtated, as a ſerious ground of offence, that Holland had not complied with the requiſition of troops, which by treaty ſhe had engaged to furniſh. But it was notorious that, in the event of

of this compliance, Holland would have been immediately invaded by France; and, in conformity with the ſame treaties, we muſt then have ſent a much greater aid to the aſſiſtance of the republic. If the Dutch at the preſent period had changed their political ſyſtem reſpecting this country, it was owing to the criminal conduct of an adminiſtration who had precipitated us into a war whence all our misfortunes had ariſen. In conſequence of that war, our American commerce was loſt; and could it be a matter of ſurpriſe that the Dutch, a people who exiſted by commerce, ſhould be deſirous to ſecure a ſhare of it? We were abandoned, not by the Dutch only, but by all the powers of Europe, who were all equally convinced that, under the preſent wretched adminiſtration of affairs, whoever became the ally of Great Britain would only ſhare in her diſgrace and her misfortunes."

In the houſe of lords, the duke of Richmond, lord Shelburne, and lord Camden, inculcated the ſame ideas with great animation and ability. "As to what was called *the treaty* between Holland and America," lord Camden ſaid, "it was the mere unauthoriſed act of Van Berkel, and betrayed neither directly nor indirectly any intention in the States General of an hoſtile nature. It did not even appear that they knew any thing of this man or his colleagues; and much leſs that

they had determined to ratify this pretended treaty, or project of a treaty, by which no one was bound, and no one could be injured."

His lordſhip contraſted the conduct of the preſent miniſters to the States General with that of lord Chatham, who, in the zenith of his victories, had never deviated from the line of reſpect and moderation. "He was too wiſe and magnanimous, whatever might be the cauſes of complaint, to adopt the ſtyle and language of that provoking, arrogant, and indecent memorial, to which, more than to any other circumſtance whatever, the ſubſequent conduct of the republic might be attributed. His lordſhip was of opinion that the manifeſto againſt Holland ought not to receive the ſanction of their lordſhips, till ſtronger evidence were produced of the neceſſity, juſtice, and policy, of that meaſure: and, if no better grounds of hoſtility ſhould be the reſult of a more particular enquiry, parliament would be bound to order immediate reparation and ſatisfaction to be given for the injury already ſuſtained by Holland; and an end would be of courſe put to the farther proſecution of hoſtilities."

In both houſes, nevertheleſs, the addreſſes were carried by great majorities; but the diſſentient peers recorded their objections in a ſtrong and vigorous proteſt. Their lordſhips declare, "that they can never believe a rupture ſo contrary

trary to the uniform and approved policy of our ableſt ſtateſmen can have become neceſſary, on our part, without groſs miſmanagement in our councils; and that honeſt and able miniſters might have prevented *this*, amongſt other wretched conſequences of the unfortunate American war." The States General themſelves, in their counter-memorial, affirm, "that the plan or project of a treaty with America, which had excited to ſuch a degree the diſpleaſure of the king of England, although it depended altogether on the anterior recognition of American independence, had been, however, without heſitation diſavowed by them. But the puniſhment inſiſted upon was not within their power, and they could not aſſent to it without ſtriking at the root of the fundamental conſtitution of the ſtate. That, obliged by what is held moſt ſacred, to defend the rights and privileges of their ſubjects, the republic could not forget itſelf ſo far as to ſubmit to the will of his Britannic majeſty, by attempting to overturn thoſe rights and privileges, and exceeding the limits preſcribed by the fundamental laws of its government. Thoſe laws required the intervention of the judicial department, and thoſe were the means which the States of Holland, to whoſe peculiar cognizance it belonged, had reſolved to uſe, by requiring on this ſubject the advice of the court of

of juſtice eſtabliſhed in their province. Of this the chevalier Yorke had been formally appriſed: —but what was the aſtoniſhment of their High Mightineſſes, when the ſaid ambaſſador, calling the ſaid reſolve *illuſive*, flatly refuſed to tranſmit it to his court! This obliged their High Mightineſſes to ſend it to count Welderen, their miniſter in London, with orders to lay it before his Britannic majeſty, whoſe miniſters had nevertheleſs returned it unopened to the ambaſſador."

The war, thus raſhly and haughtily commenced, was conducted in the bitter ſpirit of animoſity and revenge *. But before the military operations of the year are entered upon, it will be proper to terminate the civil and parliamentary hiſtory of the preſent ſeſſion.

* It is a remarkable fact, poſitively affirmed by Rendorp, burgomaſter of Amſterdam, in a political publication, called *Memorien dienende tot Opheldering*, and ſtill uncontradicted, that ſir Joſeph Yorke, when he left the Hague, went to Antwerp, and inſtigated the inhabitants of that city to petition the emperor to inſiſt upon the free navigation of the Scheldt. And it is notorious, that when this demand was, ſome years afterwards, actually made by the emperor, England, far from taking any alarm, looked on with calm indifference, or rather with pleaſure. But when the ſame thing was, more recently, attempted by France, the balance of Europe was diſcovered to be in imminent danger of ſubverſion: and England and Holland, without allowing any time or opportunity for explanation or retraction, were plunged into a moſt ruinous and deſtructive war, under the pretext of defending the violated rights of the Treaty of Weſtphalia.

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The famous Reform Bill of Mr. Burke was revived ſoon after the receſs: but, on the motion for the ſecond reading, it was rejected *in toto*, by a majority of 233 voices to 190; though ably and powerfully ſupported by many of the moſt eminent members of the houſe.

Amongſt the ſpeeches which attracted moſt ſtrongly the public attention, was that delivered with much grace and energy by Mr. William Pitt, ſecond ſon of the late earl of Chatham, who in very early youth had been elected a member of the preſent parliament, and who now exhibited himſelf to an admiring nation as equally the heir of his talents and virtues. "One great object," Mr. Pitt ſaid, "of all the petitions which had been preſented, was a recommendation of œconomy in the public expenditure; and the deſign of the preſent bill was, to carry into effect the wiſhes of the people, by introducing a ſubſtantial ſyſtem of œconomy. Beſides the benefits which would reſult from the bill in this reſpect, it had another object ſtill more important, and that was the reduction of the influence of the crown—an influence which was the more to be dreaded, becauſe more ſecret in its attacks, and more concealed in its operations, than the power of prerogative." Mr. Pitt adverted to the extraordinary objections which had been made to the bill; it propoſed to bring no more than 200,000*l.* per

per annum into the public coffers, and that ſum was inſignificant, in compariſon of the millions annually expended. "What then is the concluſion we are left to deduce? The calamities of the preſent criſis are too great to be benefited by œconomy. Our expences are ſo enormous, that it is uſeleſs to give ourſelves any concern about them; we have ſpent and are ſpending ſo much, that it is fooliſh to think of ſaving any thing. Such is the language which the opponents of this bill have virtually employed. It had alſo been ſaid, that the king's civil liſt was an irreſumable parliamentary grant, and it had been even compared to a private freehold. The weakneſs of ſuch arguments was their beſt refutation. The civil liſt revenue was granted to his majeſty not for his private uſe, but for the ſupport of the executive government of the ſtate. His majeſty, in fact, was the truſtee of the public, ſubject to parliamentary reviſion. The parliament made the grant, and undoubtedly had a right to reſume it when the preſſure of the times rendered ſuch reſumption neceſſary. Upon the whole, he conſidered the preſent bill as eſſential to the being and independence of this country, and he would give it his moſt determined ſupport."

Early in March, the miniſter, lord North, brought forward the annual ſtatement of the public account. The entire expenditure of the year

year his lordſhip calculated at twenty-one millions,—twelve of which it would be neceſſary to raiſe by a public loan: as to the terms of which, his lordſhip had contracted with the ſubſcribers, to grant 150*l.* capital ſtock at three per cent. and 25*l.* capital ſtock at four per cent. for every 100*l.* in money; thus creating a new capital of eighteen millions three per cent. and three millions four per cent. being nine millions more than the ſum actually paid into the Exchequer. To defray the intereſt of this loan, new taxes would be wanting to the amount of 660,000*l.* annually, i. e. 60,000*l.* more than the legal eſtabliſhed intereſt of five per cent.: excluſive of which, as the ſubſcription to the loan bore a premium of ten per cent. the farther ſum of 1,200,000*l.* was loſt to the nation. The terms of this extraordinary contract were, even by ſeveral of the friends of the miniſter, declared to be extravagantly high; and it was by Mr. Fox reprobated in the moſt indignant expreſſions of ſeverity, as "the moſt corrupt in its origin, the moſt ſhameful in its progreſs, and the moſt injurious in its conſequences, that ever came under the contemplation of that houſe. In order to carry on a wicked, impolitic, and bloody war, the miniſter would not ſcruple," ſaid this formidable ſpeaker, "to extort the laſt guinea from the pockets of the people. The noble lord ſtands

ſtands convicted of having made, in the character of agent and truſtee for the nation, an improvident, ſcandalous, and profligate bargain, for which he deſerves public execration and exemplary puniſhment." On a diviſion, the motion of the miniſter was carried by a majority of 169 to 111 voices.

In the houſe of lords it was again vigorouſly oppoſed by lord Rockingham, the duke of Portland, and other peers, who, in a joint proteſt, recorded their names, to adopt the language of their lordſhips, "in teſtimony of their ſtrongeſt condemnation of the terms of this loan, and of the MOTIVES which they conceive dictated terms ſo very diſadvantageous to the crown and nation." All the influence and all the activity of the miniſters of the crown were now indeed obviouſly neceſſary to prevent a parliamentary abandonment of the preſent ſyſtem. Some weeks afterwards, the ſubject was again revived in the houſe of commons, by a motion of ſir George Saville, that a ſelect committee be appointed, to enquire into the circumſtances of the laſt loan, to make an eſtimate of its terms, and report the ſame to the houſe. "Though the bargain of the miniſter had been irrevocably ratified by the houſe, this diſtinguiſhed patriot obſerved, that it was not yet too late, on diſcovering the ſhameleſs prodigality of the terms on which it was concluded,

concluded, to paſs a vote of cenſure, or even of impeachment, on the man who had ſacrificed the public in ſo groſs and daring a manner." This gave riſe to a vehement debate, at the concluſion of which the motion was rejected by a majority of 46 only, in a houſe conſiſting of near 400 members. And thus were the loud calls of the nation, for an œconomical reform in the public expenditure, ſet at contemptuous defiance by the unprincipled effrontery of the miniſters.

Towards the end of the ſeſſion, Mr. Fox moved the houſe, to reſolve itſelf into a committee, to conſider of the American war, for the purpoſe of deviſing ſome means of accommodation. This motion was ſupported in an animated ſpeech by Mr. Pitt, who expreſſed his utter abhorrence of a war, "which was conceived," he ſaid, "in injuſtice, nurtured in folly, and whoſe footſteps were marked with ſlaughter and devaſtation. It exhibited the height of moral depravity and human turpitude. The nation was drained of its beſt blood and its vital reſources, for which nothing was received in return but a ſeries of inefficient victories or diſgraceful defeats,—victories obtained over men ſtruggling in the holy cauſe of liberty,—or defeats which filled the land with mourning for the loſs of dear and valuable relatives, ſlain in a deteſted

deteſted and impious quarrel." The motion was rejected by a majority of 73 voices.

A very conſiderable proportion of the preſent ſeſſion was occupied in the conſideration of the affairs of India, of which the interval between the civil and military tranſactions of the preſent year affords a proper opportunity to take a general review, from the period in which the memorable bill of regulation framed by the miniſter lord North, A. D. 1773, paſſed into a law.

In the month of April 1772, took place, in conſequence of the removal of governor Cartier, the memorable appointment of Warren Haſtings, eſq. as governor-general of India; a man whoſe conduct throughout all the inferior gradations of office ſtood confeſſedly unimpeached *. The members of the Supreme Council appointed under the new act were, ſir John Clavering, colonel Monſon, and Philip Francis, eſq. than whom perſons of more inflexible probity and enlightened

* When lord Clive embarked for Europe, February 1760, he left the government in the hands of Mr. Holwell *pro tempore*; Mr. Vanſittart being then actually appointed, and arriving at Calcutta in the month of July. Mr. Vanſittart remained in Bengal till the beginning of 1764, and was ſucceeded by Mr. Spencer, who was quickly ſuperſeded by lord Clive. On the ſecond reſignation of lord Clive, Mr. Verelſt was advanced to the government of Bengal. To him ſucceeded Mr. Cartier. Both theſe gentlemen entered into the views,

lightened beneficence could not have been ſelected by the wiſdom of parliament, for the purpoſe of ſtemming that tide of corruption and rapacity which inundated the government of India throughout all its departments and ramifications; and which, when opportunities and temptations ariſe to a certain height, ſhall ceaſe to overleap the mounds of right when the Ganges ſhall ceaſe to flow. It is remarkable, that theſe three gentlemen were impreſſed with ſo high an idea of the merits of Mr. Haſtings, upon whoſe powerful aid and local experience they depended to give efficacy to their exertions in the public ſervice, that ſir John Clavering, with the approbation of his co-adjutors, had actually addreſſed the king, previous to their departure from England, to beſtow upon the governor ſome diſtinguiſhed mark of his royal favor, with a view to induce him to relinquiſh the intention which he was ſuppoſed to entertain of reſigning the government.

views, and acted upon the ſyſtem eſtabliſhed by lord Clive. At length the Sullivan party prevailing in the direction, Mr. Haſtings was, in oppoſition to the influence of his lordſhip, appointed governor of Bengal: and the more ſecret tranſactions, with the concomitant intrigues and cabals, which diſtinguiſhed his adminiſtration, can be perfectly underſtood only by thoſe who have waſted their time in developing the complex and claſhing intereſts, and never-ceaſing contentions and animoſities, of the Clive and Sullivan factions.

On the arrival of the new counſellors in India, in the autumn of 1774, their aſtoniſhment was great to find the whole ſyſtem and policy of Mr. Haſtings diametrically contrary to their pre-conceived ideas of his character. His manners alſo were marked by a coldneſs and *hauteur* wholly incompatible with the cordiality of friendſhip; and they had the chagrin to perceive, that they were regarded by him not as aſſociates in the great and neceſſary work of reform, but in the odious light of detectors, ſpies, and rivals. The project ſo univerſally and juſtly execrated in England, of ſetting up the lands of the zemindars, polygars, &c. to public auction, appeared, from the immediate and unqualified adoption of this odious ſyſtem by the new governor, to be the favorite policy of Mr. Haſtings himſelf. In the ſpace of about 200 years, during which the kingdom of Bengal and its appendages had been under the Mahomedan government, the original ground-rents or heriots, *auſſil jumma*, of the zemindars, and other great hereditary landholders who held under the government, had never been raiſed; and a permanent intereſt being thus created in the land, the talookdars and ryots, who poſſeſſed the ſubordinate rights of property under the zemindars, were neither themſelves oppreſſed, nor allowed to oppreſs the actual occupants and cultivators of

of the ſoil. But from the fatal period that Bengal fell into the hands of the Engliſh, the ſecurity of property was no more. In the reign of the emperor Akber, famed for the wiſdom and equity of his government throughout Hindoſtan, a general and regular aſſeſſment of revenue was formed in Bengal, and the quotas payable by each diſtrict of the province, and each village of the diſtrict, clearly and ſpecifically aſcertained. No material deviation from the eſtabliſhed rule and mode of aſſeſſment, as we are aſſured, took place from the reign of Akber to the Perſian invaſion, and thence to the elevation of Jaffier Ali Khan, who, in order to raiſe the ſum which he had ſtipulated as a reward to the authors of the revolution of 1757, departing wholly from the fundamental conſtitutions of Akber, multiplied exactions, and introduced that ſyſtem of oppreſſion which, under the ſubſequent government of the Engliſh, produced univerſal conſternation, calamity, and ruin. After being ſubject for a ſucceſſion of years to every depredation and invaſion, Mr. Haſtings, amongſt the firſt acts of his government, inſtituted a COMMITTEE of CIRCUIT, inveſted with the tranſcendent power to diſpoſe of all the lands in the kingdom, from the higheſt zemindar down to the loweſt ryot, by public auction, or farm for the term of five years. The pretext for this enormous outrage

trage was the decay of the public revenue, of which, in conſequence of this meaſure, Mr. Haſtings had the courage to promiſe the court of directors an immediate and progreſſive augmentation; acknowledging, nevertheleſs, the country at the ſame time to be in a very languiſhing ſtate, and that the population had decreaſed in the proportion of ONE THIRD ſince the grant of the dewannee from the emperor.* The moſt dreadful confuſion, as might well be imagined, inſtantly enſued; and Mr. Haſtings, in his minute of April 1773, confeſſes, "that the expected improvement had not taken place, being obſtructed by a circumſtance which COULD NOT BE FORESEEN, viz. the farmers having engaged for a higher revenue than their diſtricts could afford. It is true, ſays he, that the lands were almoſt all over-bid for; and many let to indigent and deſperate adventurers; but this was UNAVOIDABLE IN SUCH A MODE." But this conſequence being *confeſſedly unavoidable*, candour would degenerate into folly, to credit the declaration that it was not *foreſeen*. The deficiency in the revenue was in fact enormous, falling, in five years, no leſs than two millions and a half ſhort of the ſettlement. But the ſubſequent con-

* Colonel Dow, in his Hiſtory of Hindoſtan, affirms, that ſince Bengal came into the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh, five millions of people have been deſtroyed or fled from the country.

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duct of Mr. Haſtings furniſhed the moſt ſatisfactory clue to this buſineſs. The lands being on all hands admitted to be partially over-rated, the governor and council were of courſe called upon to exerciſe a diſcretionary power of remiſſion. This opened an immenſe field of fraud and peculation, and could not fail to prove to individuals in certain ſituations an exhauſtleſs ſource of wealth. The court of directors declared themſelves, in the ſequel, "fully aware of the duplicity which had been practiſed in the letting of the lands in Bengal; that flagrant corruption and great oppreſſions had been committed;" and they ordered a proſecution to be commenced againſt the perſons who compoſed the Committee of Circuit. But after long and ſtudied delays, Mr. Haſtings ultimately propoſed, and carried his propoſition in council, "that orders ſhould be given for withdrawing the ſaid proſecution." It is worthy of remark, that the *banyan* or black ſteward of Mr. Haſtings, Cantoo Baboo, rented, under the new tenure, lands to the value of 150,000*l.* per annum; and remiſſions to a very great amount were granted to this man, as well as to all thoſe whoſe reaſons appeared to the governor and council equally valid. The zemindary of Baharbund, taken from the rannee of Radſhi, was alſo given in perpetuity to Cantoo Baboo, at a rent of 82,000 rupees,

although the value of it was rated at 350,000. The ſame Cantoo Baboo was alſo permitted to contract largely for the proviſion of the Company's inveſtments; "but this," the court of directors, in their general letter of December 1776, ſay, "we poſitively forbid in future."

The aſtoniſhment into which ſir John Clavering and his colleagues were thrown, on being appriſed of this extraordinary ſtate of things in Bengal, was much increaſed by the alarming information of a war, into which the governor-general had recently entered, in conjunction with the vizier Sujah ul Dowla, nabob of Oude, for the abſolute conqueſt and EXTIRPATION of the nation of the Rohillas, inhabiting the fertile and beautiful province of Rohilcund, ſituated to the northward of the dominions of the vizier, and bounded by the high range of mountains dividing Hindoſtan from Tartary. It was not pretended by Mr. Haſtings, that the Company had received any injury whatever from the Rohilla nation; but that we engaged in the war ſolely as allies of the nabob vizier. The cauſes or pretexts of the quarrel, with reſpect to the vizier himſelf, were of a nature, to ſay the beſt, very doubtful and ambiguous. The Rohilla nation, being involved in hoſtilities with the Mahrattas, had applied to the vizier for aſſiſtance, who agreed to furniſh them with a large body of troops for an

an equivalent in money. But, through the dilatory, or perhaps inſidious, policy of the vizier, the auxiliary troops, as the Rohillas alleged, did not arrive till the enemy were repulſed. The Rohilla government, therefore, objected to the payment of the promiſed ſtipend; on which the vizier, with the previous and eager concurrence of Mr. Haſtings, determined to declare war againſt the Rohillas *, a brave, free, and generous people, for the purpoſe of adding ſo deſirable a territory to his dominions. The Rohillas, in the higheſt degree alarmed at this confederacy, offered to ſubmit the whole cauſe of diſpute to the arbitration of the Engliſh; but this was peremptorily refuſed by Mr. Haſtings, who urged the vizier, already wavering in his purpoſe, in ſtrong terms to the execution of his deſign, declaring to him, "that it would be abſolutely neceſſary to perſevere in it until it ſhould be accompliſhed; and that he could not hazard or anſwer for the diſpleaſure of the Com-

* This is the Rohilla ſtatement of the caſe. Nevertheleſs it muſt be acknowledged that ſir Robert Barker and the other officers employed in this expedition ſtrongly atteſt the performance of the ſervice contracted for by the vizier, in their reſpective examinations at the bar of the houſe of commons. But if the object of the Rohilla war had been merely the recovery of a ſum of money, whether juſtly or unjuſtly claimed, it would, in a moral and political view, have been a trifle light as air, and ſpotleſs as innocence, in compariſon of that "blackneſs of darkneſs" in which it is now enveloped.

pany, if they ſhould find themſelves engaged in a fruitleſs war, or in a ruinous expence for proſecuting it." This apprehenſion was founded on very reaſonable grounds; for the court of directors, in their inſtructions to the ſupreme council, had laid it down as an unalterable maxim, "that they were to avoid taking part in the political ſchemes of any of the country princes, *particularly* of the nabob of Oude, of whoſe ambitious diſpoſition they were well appriſed." A conſiderable body of troops under colonel Champion, being detached to the aid of the vizier, entered the province of Rohilcund, and a pitched battle took place, in which Hafiz Rhamel, the principal leader of the Rohillas, and many other of their chieftains, were ſlain. The whole country, deſcribed as "a garden not having one ſpot in it of uncultivated ground," was, in conſequence of this victory, converted into a frightful waſte, and in a great meaſure depopulated, either by the rigors of military execution, or by forcing the wretched inhabitants beyond the mountains, to wander and periſh in the Tartarian deſerts. For this ſervice, the vizier had agreed to pay into the treaſury of Calcutta the ſum of forty lacks of rupees; and Mr. Haſtings, in vindication of his conduct, alleged, and in his ſubſequent memorable PARLIAMENTARY DEFENCE entered upon record, the following

lowing very extraordinary reaſons: "The acquiſition of this ſum to the Company, and of ſo much ſpecie added to the exhauſted currency of our provinces; that it would give wealth to the nabob of Oude, of which we ſhould participate; that he ſhould be always ready to profeſs, that he did reckon the probable acquiſition of wealth among his reaſons for taking up arms againſt his neighbours; that it would eaſe the Company of a conſiderable part of their military expence, and preſerve their troops from inactivity and relaxation of diſcipline; that the Rohillas are not a *nation*, but a body of foreign adventurers, who had made a conqueſt of the country about ſixty years before; that this province would be a moſt commodious acquiſition, and the weakneſs of the Rohillas, with the open and defenceleſs ſtate of the country, promiſed an eaſy conqueſt; and finally, that ſuch was his idea of the Company's diſtreſs at home, added to his knowledge of their wants abroad, that he ſhould have been glad of *any occaſion* to employ their forces which ſaved ſo much of their pay and expences." The principal of the Rohilla chieftains, who eſcaped from the deciſive battle of St. George, was Fyzoola Khan, who retired to a remote part of the country with his treaſures and the ſhattered remains of the Rohilla army; and after the death of Hafiz, renowned for the ſupe-

ſuperiority of his intellectual talents and perſonal accompliſhments, Fyzoola Khan was very generally acknowledged as the head of this unfortunate and devoted nation. Finding his utter inability to continue the war, he ſued in very ſubmiſſive terms for peace; which the vizier, through the interceſſion of colonel Champion, thought proper to grant; and a treaty was accordingly ſigned at Lall-Dang, October 1774, agreeably to which Fyzoola Khan was confirmed in the poſſeſſion of Rampore, Shawabad, and ſome adjoining diſtricts; on condition of giving up half his treaſure, and of furniſhing a certain ſtipulated quota of troops when called upon. This indulgence was, however, little to the ſatisfaction of Mr. Haſtings, who had previouſly declared, with reſpect to Fyzoola Khan, "that he appeared not to merit *any* conſideration. The petty ſovereign of a country eſtimated at ſix or eight lacks, ought not *for a moment* to prove an impediment to any of our meaſures, or to affect the CONSISTENCY of our conduct *." The Rohilla war was ſubſequently condemned,

* The anxiety with which Mr. Haſtings endeavoured, by every means in his power, to prevent the vizier from acceding to equitable terms of accommodation with the nabob Fyzoola Khan is very remarkable. This prince, as poſſeſſor of the dependent diſtricts of Rampore and Shawabad, had been reluctantly forced into the war, and made early overtures for peace

condemned, in decisive terms, by a formal resolution of the court of directors, passed November 1775, "as contrary to the express and repeated orders of the court, and inconsistent with the principles both of policy and justice;" and this resolve was, with the singularly complaisant omission of the last word, confirmed by a vote of the court of proprietors.

But this extraordinary transaction, ranking among the first and most important acts of Mr. Hastings's administration, and affording a decisive and infallible criterion of its general tenor and spirit, demands a yet farther and more distinct investigation. After the conquest of Bengal, the Company at home seemed fully satisfied with the extent of their acquisitions; and the dispatches of the court of directors were from that period filled with rigorous injunctions to avoid all offensive wars, in which they appear with good reason perpetually apprehensive that the ambition, temerity, and avarice of their servants in India would involve them. Nevertheless, at the distance of half the globe from the scene of action,

peace after the fatal battle of St. George. These advances met with a very favorable acceptance from colonel Champion, who declared, in his letter of the 28th of May 1774, to Mr. Hastings, "that he wished for nothing so much as for the adoption of some measure that might strike all the powers of the East with admiration of our justice, in contrast to the conduct

tion, it was impoſſible not to allow in the execution of their orders ſome latitude of diſcretion. "The ſituation of affairs," ſay they, in their general letter of the 30th of June 1769, "may be varied by unforeſeen events at the very moment we are writing:—whenever you think yourſelves OBLIGED, for our SECURITY, upon EMERGENT OCCASIONS to adopt meaſures of a contrary, i. e. hoſtile tendency, you are to give us very full reaſons for ſuch deviation." In another

conduct of the vizier." In this inſtance, however, the vizier himſelf appears to have lent no unwilling ear to the ſolicitations of colonel Champion in favor of a man, who, to uſe his own words, "had never acted in ſuch a manner as for the vizier to have taken hatred to his heart againſt him"—whoſe general character was eminently mild and blameleſs, and whoſe innocence with reſpect to the origin of the war Mr. Haſtings himſelf did not pretend to queſtion. Nevertheleſs, in reply to colonel Champion's letter, the governor-general did not ſcruple to affirm, "that, inſtead of ſoliciting the vizier to relinquiſh his conqueſt of Fyzoola Khan, every argument ſhould be uſed to diſſuade him from ſuch an intention, and that it was his deſire that colonel Champion would diſcourage it as much as was in his power." In the month of September following, Mr. Haſtings, in contradiction to this declaration, thought proper, in conjunction with the ſelect committee of council, to expreſs to colonel Champion "their ſatisfaction at the vizier's intentions of terminating the war by an accommodation with the Rohillas, and hoping that his excellency would be diſpoſed to conciliate their affections to his government by acceding to lenient terms." But in a very few days after the date of this diſpatch, he with the groſſeſt duplicity

other letter they ſay, "You muſt undoubtedly act according to the EMERGENCY of affairs:" and again in another diſpatch, "As we know not what alliances may be formed to juſtify us in carrying our arms beyond the bounds of the provinces, we are prevented from propoſing any PRECISE PLAN for your guidance in this reſpect."

Theſe neceſſary though reluctant conceſſions on the part of the directors, Mr. Haſtings in his

plicity tranſmitted a private letter to colonel Champion, ſignifying "his hope and expectation that the commander in chief had reſolved to proſecute the war to a final iſſue, becauſe it was plain that Fyzoola Khan and his adherents lay at his mercy; adding, that he apprehended much inconvenience from delays, and was morally certain that no good would be gained by negotiating. He therefore wiſhed that the vizier would loſe no time in ſeeking for an accommodation. Happily, before the receipt of this letter, the treaty between the vizier and the nabob was concluded, through the beneficent and efficacious interpoſition of colonel Champion, who himſelf ſigned and ſealed the treaty as a witneſs thereto. But though in relation to the former treaty, ſuppoſed to be violated by the Rohillas, ſir Robert Barker's ſignature was pronounced by Mr. Haſtings to be equivalent to a formal and explicit guarantee, in the preſent caſe he, in his defence delivered at the bar of the houſe of peers, poſitively denies "that colonel Champion did thereby engage the United Company to guaranty the ſame, or that he was inveſted with power ſo to do." And in the ſequel a large ſum was obtained, or more properly extorted, from the nabob Fyzoola Khan, as a compenſation for the Company's guarantee. Such and ſo palpable is the inconſiſtency of Mr. Haſtings's language and conduct!

MINUTES

Minutes of Defence prepoſterouſly perverts into a juſtification of the Rohilla war; although the Rohillas were notoriouſly as unwilling as they were unable to do any injury to the Company. The real grounds of the war appeared from the firſt ſufficiently obvious. The pretext held out was, that the vizier, as an ally of the Company, was entitled to our aſſiſtance; and that, as *guarantees* of the treaty between him and the Rohilla chiefs, we were bound to grant it. Without adverting to the juſtice or injuſtice of the vizier's demand on the Rohillas, it is enough to ſay, that this pretended guarantee conſiſted only in the treaty being ſigned at the requeſt of the Rohillas themſelves, from their well-grounded diſtruſt of the vizier, in the *preſence* of ſir Robert Barker, commander-in-chief of the Company's forces, as a witneſs of the ſame. It is not pretended that ſir Robert Barker had authority to pledge the Company as guarantees of the treaty: and that he ſhould take upon him to bind the government by ſo ſerious and important an act, without ſpecial inſtruction and direction, is an incredible ſuppoſition: and in fact, ſir Robert Barker, being interrogated at the bar of the houſe of commons—"Whether he conceived that he had by any act of his bound the Company to a guarantee of the treaty by war?" anſwered poſitively, "I DID NOT." Alſo in a letter

letter written even before the actual concluſion of the treaty, he declares, " that it was the fartheſt from his intention that the Company ſhould in any reſpect whatever be mentioned in the agreement between the vizier and the Rohillas."

From the firſt ſuggeſtion of this project of conqueſt and extirpation by the vizier, *if indeed the vizier were the original projector*, it is evident that Mr. Haſtings urged its proſecution with an ardor far ſuperior to that diſcovered by the nabob, whoſe ambition was counteracted by his avarice, and who on cool reflection appears to have thought the prize ſcarcely worth the purchaſe. " I availed myſelf," ſays Mr. Haſtings, " of his eager ſolicitude for the attainment of this point, to engage his aſſent to another meaſure of much greater value to the Company—that is to ſay, the increaſe of his annual payments or ſubſidy to the amount of two hundred and ten thouſand rupees per month." But it is ſufficiently evident, that when this conceſſion was once extorted from the vizier, his " eager ſolicitude" ſubſided into a ſtate of mind which the artifices of Mr. Haſtings only prevented from ſinking into coldneſs and indifference: and when Mr. Haſtings affirms, " that this war derived its *propriety* from circumſtances of nice relation and various

various detail*," he undoubtedly confounds its *propriety* with its *exiſtence*.

In a letter written by Mr. Haſtings to the vizier, April 21, 1773, he enlarges on the great advantage which would reſult to the vizier from the reduction of the Rohilla country, "becauſe," ſays he, "by that means the defenſive line of your dominions would be completed, by including within it all the land lying on that ſide of the river Ganges."—"The ALLUREMENT (to adopt the language of Mr. Haſtings in his defence) thus held out to the vizier ſucceeded. He propoſed in reply a meeting with me at Benares. I found him ſtill equally bent on the deſign of reducing the Rohillas, which I ENCOURAGED as I had before done, by dwelling on the advantages which he would derive from its ſucceſs; by objecting with great force the ORDERS of the

* MINUTES of DEFENCE.—It is pleaſant enough, when enquiry is made into the cauſes of a war, the object of which is the extirpation of a nation, to be told, "that it derives its propriety from circumſtances of nice relation and various detail." The cauſes of ſuch a war, juſtice and humanity out of the queſtion, muſt, upon any ſolid ground of mere policy, be obvious and important. And it muſt be confeſſed, that the cauſes enumerated by Mr. Haſtings in his defence are extremely clear and intelligible. "The circumſtances of nice relation and various detail," therefore, are to be referred merely and ſolely to the impoſitions and artifices by which the vizier was inveigled into this nefarious undertaking againſt the Rohillas.

COM-

COMPANY reſtricting us from ſuch remote ſchemes of conqueſt, to which I therefore could not aſſent without ſuch conditions obtained in return for it as might obviate their diſpleaſure, and win their ſanction to ſo hazardous and UNAUTHORISED a meaſure. Having at length obtained this point, viz. *the increaſe of the ſubſidy*, I eaſily yielded my *aſſent* to the Rohilla plan, i. e. to the plan which the vizier had been thus *allured* and *encouraged* to undertake, on the ſtipulation of forty lacks for its accompliſhment. As a precaution againſt any effects which were to be apprehended *from the vizier's* IRRESOLUTION, the conditions originally accepted were dictated to him in the form of a letter, to be written by him, in which a clauſe was inſerted, 'that whether the country was conquered, or a peace concluded between him and the enemy, the ſtipulation for the forty lacks ſhould become EQUALLY DUE.' Thus at laſt," ſays Mr. Haſtings exultingly, "an occaſion took place, when, by a *ſlight deviation* from the defenſive plan, our alliance with the vizier might be converted into ſolid advantages. In effect, the ſame reaſons which before urged us to ſhun every military expedition now operated in the contrary direction, and recommended the employment of our army for the purpoſe of REDUCING our EXPENCES, and ADDING to our CURRENCY."

Surely the public accuſers of Mr. Haſtings would not wiſh to heighten the colors of the picture he has here drawn of himſelf! As to the mode in which this WAR of EXTIRPATION, or, to uſe that more ſoft and gentle phraſeology which gives a ſpecious gloſs to deeds of the blackeſt villany, "this ſlight deviation from the general plan of defence," was conducted, we are well aſſured that colonel Champion never mentioned the ſervice on which he was employed without the deepeſt expreſſions of grief and abhorrence. "Whilſt all ASIA knows, ſays this commander, that the Engliſh gave him, i. e. the nabob vizier, the rod, will they not reaſonably conclude that the ſcourges which the agent gives are connived at?—will they not ſay every Engliſh chief is another Sujah?"—"The authority given to the vizier over the army," ſays the colonel in a letter to Mr. Haſtings, dated May 10, 1774, "has totally abſorbed that degree of conſequence due to my ſtation. My hands have been tied up from giving protection or aſylum to the miſerable. I have been obliged to give a deaf ear to the lamentable cries of the widow and the fatherleſs, and ſhut my eyes againſt a wanton diſplay of violence and oppreſſion, of inhumanity and cruelty. The Company's intereſt conſtrained me in public to ſtifle the workings of my feelings, but I *muſt* give way to them in private—it would affect your SENSIBILITY too

too much were I to deſcend to particulars. The family of Hafiz, the Begums included, have been driven to the neceſſity of making ſupplications for a little rice and water; and of the priſoners, many have died for want of ſuſtenance. I wiſh to leave ſcenes which none but the mercileſs Sujah can bear without heart-bleeding pain—relieve me therefore as ſoon as poſſible."

In a moving repreſentation to the colonel from the ſons of Hafiz, of their manifold diſtreſſes, they ſay of the vizier, "He has deprived us of our country, of our riches, and even of our honor; and, not ſatisfied with that, he is going to ſend us priſoners to Fyzabad. We deſire no country, no riches, no palaces; but at Biſſoulee are the tombs of our anceſtors—near them, under ſome ſhade, we beg permiſſion to ſpend the remainder of our days as faquiers." Theſe things the colonel ſays he is compelled to ſtate, although the ungracious reception of his former repreſentations gave him but little encouragement to plead the cauſe of the unhappy.

In a ſubſequent letter, dated June 15, 1774, the colonel deſires that he may be empowered to withdraw the Engliſh troops, in caſe the vizier will not otherwiſe be prevailed upon to deſiſt from his enormities; but this Mr. Haſtings, in his reply, declares to be "obviouſly inadmiſſible. Where (ſaid he) is our authority to judge or controul the conduct of the vizier, farther than reſpects

his engagement with us? Even granting we had an authority to controul the vizier's conduct in the manner you propose, we must have demonstration of the *infallibility* of the person we entrusted with such an authority before we could be vindicated in the delegation of it. All the country subdued becomes absolutely the vizier's. On the terms you propose, the English commander would supersede his authority in the government of his new possessions." In lieu therefore of the expedient suggested by the good sense and humanity of colonel Champion, the governor-general ordered his resident, Mr. Middleton, in whom fortunately no "demonstration of infallibility" was required, to *remonstrate* and *expostulate* with the vizier concerning his conduct towards the Rohillas, "in order to exculpate the English government from the IMPUTATION, as Mr. Hastings well expresses it, of assenting to such a procedure." But so little did the vizier regard these feeble and formal remonstrances, that in the sequel the family of Hafiz, after suffering the most dreadful and shocking indignities, were carried in captivity to Fyzabad.

In a subsequent letter from the nabob Mahub Ulla Khan, the eldest son of Hafiz, he most earnestly supplicates, in the name of GOD and Christ, the interposition of the English commander for their release. "O my guardian," says he, "turn your face to the business of a slave, and have

us

as enlarged, and it will not go unrewarded." As to the extravagant plea ſet up by Mr. Haſtings in defence of this moſt infamous and unprovoked invaſion, "that the Rohillas were not a nation, but a body of foreign adventurers, who poſſeſſed the country by a preſcription of *only* ſixty years," it is ſurely ſufficient to reply, that the inhabitants of Rohilcund under their preſent government enjoyed peace and proſperity—that theſe people, whom he will not allow to be a nation, were able to bring an army of fifty or ſixty thouſand men into the field; and that it might with infinitely more force be retorted on the Engliſh themſelves, that THEY were a body of "foreign adventurers," who had been at this time ſcarcely ſeven ſummers in poſſeſſion of the country they occupied *. With equal feeling and animation it has been ſaid in relation to the general merits of the Rohilla war, "There is no power in this world that can annihilate ſuch a queſtion—THOUGH IT WERE DEAD, YET SHALL IT LIVE. The cauſe by its own energy ſhall turn upon the force that oppreſſes it, and ſting to deſtruction

* Numidæ et de terminatione Scipionis mentiri eos arguebant; et ſi quis veram originem juris exigere vellet quem proprium agrum Carthaginienſium in Africa eſſe? Advenis quantum ſecto bovis tergo amplecti loci potuerint tantum ad urbem communiendam precario datum quicquid Byrſam ſedem ſuam exceſſerint *vi* atque *injuriâ* partum habere.—*Liv.* lib. xxxiv. § 62.

the vulnerable heel that endeavours to keep it down."

Another very important tranſaction, of which the new counſellors were alſo for the firſt time appriſed at their arrival in India, left no room for doubt, if doubt could otherwiſe have ſubſiſted, as to the real character and ſyſtematic policy of the governor-general. In the ſolemn treaty of peace concluded Auguſt 1765 at Illahabad, between the nabob vizier of Oude and the Eaſt-India Company, it is ſtipulated that the emperor Sha Allum ſhall remain, under the guarantee of the Company, in full poſſeſſion of the provinces of Corah and Illahabad, as a royal demeſne; in conſideration of which the *dewannee* of Bengal was granted by the emperor in perpetuity to the Company.

About the year 1772, the emperor, who had hitherto reſided at Illahabad, removed to the antient capital of Dehli; but engaging ſoon after this period in unſucceſsful hoſtilities with the Mahrattas, this people compelled him while in their power to grant *ſunnuds* for the ſurrender of Corah and Illahabad to them. But Mr. Haſtings, in his letter of March 1773 to the court of directors, ſays, "In no ſhape can this compulſatory ceſſion by the KING releaſe us from the obligation we are under to defend the provinces which we have ſo particularly guarantied to him;"

him;" and they were accordingly occupied by the troops of the Company, and taken under its immediate and avowed protection. In a short time however the ideas of Mr. Hastings suffered a total change; for by an act of the governor and council, passed in *June following*, the engagements between the Company and the emperor are declared to be DISSOLVED by his alienation from them and their interests, manifested by his removal to Dehli. Nevertheless, "if the KING should make overtures to renew his former connection, his right to reclaim the districts of Corah and Illahabad could not, say they, be disputed; and the governor is authorised to restore them to him, on condition that he should RENOUNCE his CLAIM to the ANNUAL TRIBUTE of twenty-six lacks of rupees, reserved to the emperor out of the revenues of Bengal, and to the arrears which might be due." Yet in the treaty concluded in person by the governor-general with the vizier, in *September* 1773, it is asserted, "that his majesty having abandoned the districts of Corah and Illahabad, and given a *sunnud* for Corah and Currah to the Mahrattas, had thereby *forfeited* his right to the said districts." And in his subsequent report of this interview and negotiation with Sujah ul Dowla, the governor declared, "that the administration would have been culpable in the highest degree for retaining possession

of Corah and Illahabad for any other purpoſe than that of making an advantage by the diſpoſal of them, and therefore he had ceded them to the vizier for fifty lacks of rupees—the net annual revenue of theſe provinces being eſtimated at twenty-five lacks." At the ſame time the governor and council determined to withhold the tribute of twenty-ſix lacks of rupees from the emperor, pretending "that they were not ſatisfied of his amicable intentions, and that the reduced ſtate of the treaſury rendered ſuch payment impracticable."

Such was the treatment which the emperor of Hindoſtan received from the ſervants of a foreign mercantile company, although Mr. Haſtings himſelf, in a minute recorded in the council-book on another occaſion, declared, "that, fallen as the houſe of TIMUR is, it is yet the relic of the moſt illuſtrious line of the eaſtern world—that its ſovereignty is univerſally acknowledged, though the ſubſtance of it no longer exiſts—and that the Company itſelf derives its conſtitutional dominion from its oſtenſible bounty."

The diſintereſtedneſs of Mr. Haſtings in all points of pecuniary concern had in England been the theme of high panegyric; but certain facts which came to the knowledge of the new counſellors on or ſoon after their arrival in India ſet this part of his character alſo in a light which could

could ſcarcely be conſidered as problematical. Of theſe it will ſuffice to touch on two or three of the moſt conſpicuous. By the Regulating Act of 1773, a ſalary of 25,000*l.* per annum was ſettled on the governor, and he was in the moſt poſitive and peremptory manner prohibited from receiving any preſent or donation, in any manner, or on any account whatever. And in expreſs alluſion to the act on his acceſſion to the government, Mr. Haſtings in the oſtentation of his generoſity had publicly declared, "that this prohibition admitted neither of refinement nor miſconſtruction, and that in his opinion an oppoſition would be to incur the penalty."

On the 30th of March 1775, a petition was laid before the board, ſetting forth, "that Khan Jehan Khan, then Phouſdar of Houghley, had obtained that office from the governor, with a ſalary of 72,000 ſicca rupees per annum; and that the ſaid Phouſdar *had given a receipt of bribe to the patron of the city*, to pay him annually 36,000 rupees out of the ſalary above mentioned." It being moved, "that the petitioner ſhould be ordered to attend the next day to make good his charge," Mr. Haſtings objected to the motion; which being nevertheleſs carried, the governor declared, "that he would not ſuffer a judicial enquiry into his conduct at the board of which he was preſident," and pronounced the meeting

meeting of the board diſſolved. Other ſums from various perſons, at various times, ariſing in the aggregate to a vaſt amount, were acknowledged by Mr. Haſtings in his confidential diſpatches, doubtleſs to guard againſt the effects of ſimilar informations, to be *privately received*; but, as the governor-general *alleged*, ſubſequently converted to the Company's uſe. This however did by no means ſatisfactorily appear. As an apology for his original intention of concealment, he ſays, "Having had occaſion to diſburſe from my own caſh many ſums which, though required to enable me to execute the duties of my ſtation, I have hitherto omitted to enter in my public accounts, and my own fortune being unequal to ſo heavy a charge, I have reſolved to reimburſe myſelf in a mode the moſt ſuitable to the ſituation of your affairs, by charging the ſame in my durbar account of the preſent year, and crediting them in the ſum *privately received*." On the firſt ſuggeſtion of ſuſpicion as to the motives of this conduct, he profeſſed to the court of directors, September 1775, "that it was his fixed determination moſt fully and liberally to explain every circumſtance." Being called upon by the court, after a very long interval, for this promiſed explanation, he declared, "that he had been prevented from the execution of this deſign by a variety of *more important occupations*;

tions; and that the ſubmiſſion which his reſpect would have enjoined him to pay to the command impoſed upon him was LOST to his RECOLLECTION." But by far the moſt remarkable accuſation of this nature againſt Mr. Haſtings was that preferred by the rajah Nund-comar to the Supreme Council, in the month of March 1775, of various ſums, amounting to many hundred thouſand rupees, received by the governor-general for offices and employments corruptly diſpoſed of by him; and of this the rajah, who was a native Hindoo of the Brahman caſte, and of the higheſt rank, offered to produce incontrovertible evidence. Inſtead of ſtating any thing in his defence, Mr. Haſtings declared, "that he would not ſuffer Nund-comar to appear before the board as his accuſer," and diſſolved the meeting *.

Soon after this an attempt was made by the

* The legality of the power thus aſſumed by the governor-general, of diſſolving the council at pleaſure, being deemed queſtionable, the court of directors thought proper, for ſatisfaction on this point, to take the opinion of a man very eminent in his profeſſion, who, although he decided in favor of Mr. Haſtings, at the ſame time remarked, "that he believed him to be the firſt governor that ever diſſolved a council enquiring into his behaviour when he was innocent." And the court of directors, in the reſult, poſitively forbade the governor-general to diſſolve any council in future, againſt the conſent of the majority of the members actually preſent."

governor

governor to indict the rajah before the Supreme Court of Judicature, for a conſpiracy againſt the government; but the grand jury refuſing to find the bill, it was determined to proceed againſt the rajah in a different mode: and while the charge againſt the governor was yet pending before the council, he was indicted, upon the Engliſh ſtatute of forgery, for a certain counterfeit bond pretended to have been iſſued by the rajah many years before; and which, if the charge could be imagined to have any foundation, amounted, by the laws of India, only to a miſdemeanor. On this accuſation he was brought to trial before ſir Elijah Impey, chief juſtice of the Supreme Court, and condemned to ſuffer capital puniſhment. Being committed to cloſe cuſtody in the common gaol at Calcutta amidſt a crowd of felons, a petition was preſented from the rajah to the Supreme Council, ſetting forth, "That after having been honored with the confidence of the nabob Jaffier Ally Khan, and after having diſcharged the firſt office in the ſubahdary, and being now ten years retired from public life, it might perhaps ſtartle the honorable board to receive an addreſs from him, dated from the common gaol at Calcutta, had he not prepared them for ſome fatal change in his ſituation, by the repreſentation he had before made of the ſevere menaces thrown out againſt him by the governor-general. Should my life,"

life," ſaid the rajah, "be taken away by the flagitious charge now laid againſt me by men the moſt abandoned, the facts before alluded to will remain upon record; the witneſſes will be ready, and the proofs producible, whenever the governor-general has COURAGE ſufficient to hear them. My only intention in ſetting forth the ſervices I have done, and the character I have to an advanced age ſupported, is to introduce my requeſt, that I may not ſuffer, from the bare accuſation, a puniſhment equal to that of death, the violation of the moſt ſacred duties of my religion—the inſtitutions of which ſtrictly enjoin a number of ablutions, prayers, and other ceremonies to be performed by the ſect of Brahmans before they can take any kind of food:—nothing of this can be performed in the place where I now am. I therefore humbly requeſt that I may be permitted to reſide, under as ſtrict a guard as may be judged requiſite, in ſome place where theſe objections may be obviated."

This petition being tranſmitted to the chief juſtice, and it being at the ſame time repreſented that the rajah had remained for 80 hours without ſuſtenance, permiſſion was obtained to fix a tent on the outſide of the priſon-gate for the purpoſe of waſhing and eating. Mobaric ul Dowla, ſubah of Bengal, being appriſed of the deplorable ſituation of the unfortunate rajah, tranſ-

tranſmitted a letter to the governor and council, interceding in his favor *.

"The affair of maha rajah Nund-comar," ſaid the ſubah, "is really hard and rigorous. The maha rajah has tranſacted affairs of the greateſt importance. When Meer Coſſim Ally Khan had taken the reſolution to ruin or expel the Engliſh, the maha rajah exerted himſelf to the utmoſt in ſupplying them with grain and money. The ſervices of the maha rajah are well known to the KING of Hindoſtan. Certainly he never could have committed ſo contemptible a crime. People employed in important affairs will, undoubtedly, have many enemies; and thoſe who have been active in the affair of Nund-comar have long been his declared foes. Taking therefore into conſideration the welfare of the people, I beg, with reſpect to this affair, that the rajah's execution may be ſuſpended till the pleaſure of his majeſty the king of England ſhall be known."

* Though it is ſcarcely worth while in any other view to notice the rapid ſucceſſion of theſe paſſing ſhadows, the regularity of dates is preſerved by remarking, that Najim ul Dowla, eldeſt ſurviving ſon of Jaffier Ally Khan, died in May 1766, fifteen months after his advancement to the muſnud. His brother Syef ul Dowla ſucceeded, and lived till May 1770. The preſent nabob, Mobaric ul Dowla, was the youngeſt ſon of Meer Jaffier, and thirteen years of age only at the period of his mock elevation to the throne of Bengal.

This

This interceſſion, however, proved wholly unavailing and uſeleſs. In a paper written by Nund-comar, for the inſpection of the Supreme Council, he ſays, "Now that the hour of death approaches, I ſhall not, for the ſake of this world, be regardleſs of the next. The forgery of the bond, of which I am accuſed, never proceeded from me. For the fault of repreſenting a juſt fact, my enemies, having no other means to conceal their own actions, deeming my deſtruction of the utmoſt expediency for themſelves, revived an old affair of Mohun Perſaud, which had been formerly found to be falſe; and LORD IMPEY and the other judges have tried me by the Engliſh laws, which are contrary to the cuſtoms of this country—and, taking the evidence of my enemies, have condemned me to death. In my laſt moments I requeſt that you, general, will write my caſe to the juſt king of England.—I ſuffer, but my innocence will certainly be made known to him."

On the 5th of Auguſt 1775, the day fixed for the execution of the rajah, he appeared on the public ſcaffold without diſcovering the leaſt ſymptom of diſcompoſure. He deſired the ſheriff to preſent his laſt reſpectful ſalutations to general Clavering, colonel Monſon, and Mr. Francis; and pray for their protection of rajah Gourdaſs, and that they would pleaſe to look on him now

as

as head of the Brahmans. When not engaged in converſation aloud, his lips continued moving as if engaged in prayer, his beads hanging in his hand. The Brahmans who attended him on this melancholy occaſion were in agonies of grief and deſpair; and the ſurrounding crowd teſtified their horror and conſternation at this event by clamorous howlings and lamentations. The rajah embraced the attending Brahmans cloſely, and ſaid he was ready. "My own ſpirits ſunk," ſays the ſheriff, Mr. Mac-Raby, in his intereſting narrative of this extraordinary ſcene, "and I ſtepped into my palankeen; but before I was well ſeated he had given the ſignal, and the ſtage was removed. His ſteadineſs, compoſure, and reſolution, throughout the whole of the melancholy tranſaction, were equal to any examples of fortitude I have ever ſeen or read of. The body was taken down, after HANGING the uſual time, and delivered to the Brahmans for burning."—Thus miſerably periſhed the moſt diſtinguiſhed and illuſtrious of the Hindoo inhabitants of Bengal: and in the ſubſequent council minute of ſir John Clavering, colonel Monſon, and Mr. Francis, theſe gentlemen with good reaſon ſay, "After the death of Nund-comar, the governor we believe is well aſſured that no man who regards his ſafety will venture to ſtand forth as his accuſer;—and they remark, that in the

the interim which had elapſed ſince the alleged offence of the rajah he had been promoted and employed by the governor-general; that his ſon the rajah Gourdaſs was appointed to one of the firſt offices in the nabob's houſehold;—and that the accuſation, which ended in his deſtruction, was not produced till he came forward and brought a ſpecific charge againſt the governor-general, of corruption in his office."

The conduct of the governor-general in relation to Mahomed Reza Khan, a muſſulman of the higheſt diſtinction, was ſcarcely leſs extraordinary; though to attempt to develop the ſecret motives which led to it would open a ſcene of dark and complex intrigue totally foreign to the purpoſes of general hiſtory *. This diſtinguiſhed perſonage was, through the influence of the Engliſh government, on the deceaſe of the late nabob, Meer Jaffier Ally Khan, conſtituted guardian of his children, and adminiſtra-

* As the true ſolution of Mr. Haſtings's conduct reſpecting Mahomed Reza Khan, it has been affirmed, that this miniſter was elevated to the high ſtation he occupied by the intereſt of lord Clive; and that Mr. Haſtings was, on the other hand, intimately connected with the Anti-Clive or Sullivan faction, to whom he owed his advancement. With at leaſt equal probability it has been ſaid, that the diſguſt of Mr. Haſtings aroſe from the attachment ſhewn by Mahomed Reza Khan to ſir John Clavering, and the other members of the Supreme Council, in oppoſition to Mr. Haſtings.

tor or regent of the ſubahdary during the minority of his ſon Nudjah ul Dowla. As to his general character, the late preſident, lord Clive, in his letter to the Supreme Council of July 3d, 1765, ſays, "It is with pleaſure I can acquaint you, that the more I ſee of Mahomed Reza Khan the ſtronger is my conviction of his honor and moderation." Alſo the preſident and council, in their diſpatch to the court of directors, June 1767, ſay, "Mahomed Reza Khan has purſued the Company's intereſt with ſteadineſs and diligence; his abilities qualify him to perform the moſt important ſervices." And the court of directors, in their letter of February 1768, ſay, "We muſt, in juſtice to Mahomed Reza Khan, expreſs the high ſenſe we entertain of his abilities, and of the indefatigable attention he has ſhewn in the execution of the important truſt repoſed in him." Nevertheleſs, the cabals of his enemies after a time ſo far prevailed, that the court of directors tranſmitted orders to deprive Mahomed Reza Khan of his office, and to inſtitute an enquiry into his conduct. In conformity to his ſecret inſtructions, Mr. Haſtings cauſed this miniſter to be arreſted in the city of Moorſhedabad, and to be brought down to Calcutta, where he was, by various artifices of delay, kept in cuſtody for two years. At length being brought to trial, he was completely and honorably

rably acquitted of the charges preferred againſt him: and the court of directors, in their ſubſequent diſpatch, teſtify their ſatisfaction in the reſult of this enquiry; at the ſame time ordering him to be re-inſtated in the offices which he had heretofore held. This was accordingly done by general Clavering, colonel Monſon, and Mr. Francis, who now conſtituted the majority of the council;—not, however, without a formal proteſt from the governor-general Haſtings; though the court of directors again declared their high approbation of this re-appointment, giving him an aſſurance of their favor and protection. This was, however, of little avail; for no ſooner did Mr. Haſtings obtain a majority in the council, by the deaths, firſt of colonel Monſon (Sept. 1776), and in the following year of ſir John Clavering, than Mahomed Reza Khan was again removed from all his offices, the principal of which was filled by Sudder ul Hock Khan, a man wholly devoted to the governor, who wrote to the nabob, that nothing could retrieve the confuſion into which the country was thrown but an unlimited power lodged in the hands of the ſuperintendant: to which the nabob, now become, to uſe the words of Mr. Haſtings, "a mere pageant without even the ſhadow of authority," his annual revenue alſo being arbitrarily reduced from 42 to 16 lacks—expreſſed

in abject terms his entire acquieſcence and ſubmiſſion. The court of directors, on being informed of theſe proceedings, in a tone of high diſpleaſure declared, "that NO DOUBT could be entertained of the true deſign of this extraordinary buſineſs," and poſitively commanded the immediate reſtoration of Mohamed Reza Khan to the office of naib ſubahdar. After much ſtudied evaſion and delay this order was complied with. But, on the departure of Mr. Francis from India, Mahomed Reza Khan was a third time diſmiſſed from his office, by Mr. Haſtings, without any ſpecific charge, trial, or enquiry whatſoever.—On a retroſpective view of theſe tranſactions, it cannot but excite our aſtoniſhment to hear Mr. Haſtings affirm in his Minutes of Defence, reſpecting Mahomed Reza Khan, "I am ſure his ſentiments for me are thoſe of GRATITUDE and AFFECTION." On the laſt diſmiſſion of Reza Khan, ſir John Doyley was placed near the perſon of the nabob Mobaric ul Dowla, to ſuperintend his expences, with a particular inſtruction to the nabob, not to admit any Engliſh, but ſuch as the ſaid ſir John Doyley ſhould approve, to his preſence. SUCH was the ſpirit of Mr. Haſtings's internal adminiſtration. The moſt remarkable events relating to his external policy yet remain to be inveſtigated.

The

The MAHRATTA STATES are the only people of Hindoſtan who were not ſubdued by the Moguls, or who never acknowledged allegiance to the houſe of Timur. Secure amidſt their inacceſſible mountains, they preſerved unimpaired their liberty and independency, and were at all times regarded by the moſt powerful of the Mahomedan emperors as very formidable adverſaries. This nation conſiſted of a number of diſtinct tribes, governed by their reſpective chieftains, but who all recognized as their ſupreme head a prince ſtyled the Sou or Ram Rajah, i. e. the Great Rajah, whoſe throne was eſtabliſhed at Setterah. Since the decline of the Mogul power, that of the Mahrattas had riſen rapidly on its ruins.

At this period their dominions extended from Travancore, near the ſouthern extremity of the peninſula, to the province of Guzzerat, northward, divided from the Perſian territories by the river Paddar, the Jumna ſeparating them from the empire of the Mogul. To the eaſt they ſtretch to the Carnatic, and the dominions of the Nizam of the Decan, the province of Catac carrying their poſſeſſions irregularly acroſs the peninſula to the Bay of Bengal. Their revenues were computed to amount to more than twelve millions ſterling; and their military eſtabliſh-

ment, which was compoſed chiefly of cavalry, to 300,000 men.

It is a ſingular circumſtance in this government, that the ſovereignty of the Sou or Ram rajah exiſts at this day only in name. Nana Row, peiſhwa or prime miniſter of the country at a period not very remote, ſeizing the perſon of the rajah, confined him in a fortreſs near Setterah; and, uſurping the powers of the government, continued to adminiſter them in the name of the ſovereign. Nana Row, dying, left the ſucceſſion to his ſon Mada Row, who finding a rival in the perſon of Ragonaut Row, his uncle, a man of an intriguing diſpoſition and moſt flagitious character, kept him in cloſe confinement till near the time of his own death; when, being anxiouſly deſirous to enſure the quiet ſucceſſion of the peiſhwaſhip to his brother Narrain Row, he became reconciled to Ragonaut, in conſequence of the moſt ſolemn promiſes of the latter to aſſiſt the young Narrain Row with his moſt tender care, protection, and advice. The credulous Mada Row ſhed tears of joy and ſatisfaction at this happy event, and cloſed his eyes in peace. But the vile and unnatural wretch, thus generouſly liberated, immediately engaged in new plots againſt his nephew Narrain; and in a few months after his acceſſion,

acceſſion, September 1773, the young peiſhwa was aſſaſſinated by the villanous contrivance of his uncle, who expected to have ſucceeded without difficulty to the government. But the horror and deteſtation excited by a crime of this enormous magnitude occaſioned an oppoſition ſo general, that the parricide Ragonaut was compelled to fly his country.

Unhappily he directed his courſe to the iſland of Bombay, the government of which not only granted him, without heſitation, their protection, but, affecting to admit the validity of his claims, they commenced open hoſtilities againſt the Mahrattas, indulging the moſt ambitious and ſanguine hopes, if the reſtoration of Ragonaut Row could be accompliſhed by their aid, to rival Madras and Calcutta in opulence and power.

The iſland of Salſette and the city of Baroach were quickly reduced by the valor of the Company's troops; but it does not appear that at this period the preſidency of Bombay received any encouragement from Mr. Haſtings to proſecute theſe nefarious projects of aggrandiſement. On the contrary, the governor joined with the new counſellors, Clavering, Monſon, and Francis, in reprobating theſe proceedings; declaring by an act of council, paſſed May 1775,

that the meaſures adopted by the preſidency of Bombay had a tendency to a very extenſive and indefinite ſcene of troubles; and that their conduct was unſeaſonable, impolitic, unjuſt, and unauthoriſed." And availing themſelves of the ſuperiority veſted in them by the late act, colonel Upton was ſent on an embaſſy to the Mahratta court, for the purpoſe of negotiating a peace, which was concluded at Poonah, and ratified March 1ſt, 1776, upon terms very honorable and advantageous. By this treaty Salſette, Baroach, and various adjoining diſtricts in the Guzzerat provinces, were ceded to the Company, and the ſum of twelve lacks of rupees allotted to them as an indemnification for the expences of the war.

On the other hand, it was ſtipulated that Ragonaut Row ſhould withdraw from Bombay, and that no protection or aſſiſtance ſhould be granted to him or any other ſubject of the Mahratta ſtate who may cauſe any diſturbance or rebellion in that country. Notwithſtanding the ſolemnity of this engagement, Ragonaut Row ſtill continued at Bombay, and, by means of his agents, fomented parties and diſſenſions in the court of Poonah, until the Mahratta government, jealous in the higheſt degree of the deſigns of the Engliſh, were provoked to receive with marked

marked diſtinction the chevalier de St. Lubin, agent or ambaſſador from the French preſidency of Pondicherry.

Mr. Haſtings was now completely emancipated from the control of the new commiſſion, by the ſucceſſive deaths of colonel Monſon and general Clavering; and even previous to the deceaſe of the latter, being aſſured of the invariable ſupport of Mr. Barwell, his own caſting vote gave him on all occaſions a decided majority.

It is very remarkable that, during the whole courſe of the contention between the governor-general and the new counſellors, the proceedings of the governor were, in almoſt every diſpatch from England, cenſured and condemned in ſevere terms, while the conduct of his opponents was as uniformly applauded; yet the governor-general was unaccountably continued in office, and ſuffered ultimately to carry his romantic projects into unreſtrained and ruinous execution. In their letter of April 1776, the court of directors highly commend the indefatigable aſſiduity which, they ſay, appears in the laborious reſearches of the *majority* of the council, and their zeal for the intereſt of the Company, and the welfare of the inhabitants, as well natives as Europeans. In a ſubſequent letter, addreſſed to ſir John Clavering, in the expectation of his ſpeedy

ſpeedy return to Europe, the court expreſs the deep ſenſe they entertain of his ſingular ſervices, and the great concern they felt at the proſpect of loſing ſo invaluable a ſervant. And in their general letter of May 7, 1778, they lament the death of ſir John Clavering in warm and affectionate terms, as a great and public loſs to the Eaſt-India Company and to his country. So indeed it proved: for the governor-general, no longer reſtrained by the preſence of this inflexible CENSOR, fixing his eyes on the weſtern ſide of the continent, perceived an immenſe field in which his ambitious and reſtleſs diſpoſition might find a boundleſs ſcope of activity and exertion *.

On

* Soon after the death of ſir John Clavering, Mr. Francis tranſmitted to the miniſter, lord North, a letter or memorial, dated September 1777, excellently written, and ſtating in the cleareſt manner the nature and pernicious effects of the policy purſued by the Engliſh government in Bengal, and the meaſures neceſſary to eſtabliſh permanent peace and proſperity in India. In diſcuſſing the intereſting queſtion—"To what extent, and in what form, the actual ſovereignty of Great Britain over thoſe provinces ſhall be avowed?" he obſerves, "that the principal branches of the ſovereign power are exerciſed by the Eaſt-India Company, partly under the authority of the ſubahdar, partly under that of the king of Great Britain. At the ſame time the natives in general acknowledge no king but the Mogul, in whoſe name the revenues are collected, and the current money of Bengal coined. Hence ariſe all the evils which flow from a divided dominion. The ſafeſt,

On the 28th of January, 1778, the governor introduced the ſubject at the Supreme Board in a very long minute, unfolding in a ſufficiently unequivocal manner his vaſt and daring projects. "If REPORT could be believed," Mr. Haſtings ſaid, "written engagements had paſſed between the Mahratta court and M. St. Lubin, the object of which, whatever it be, muſt, if attempted, prove deſtructive to the Britiſh trade and influence in India. Although the Mahratta power, unallied with other ſtates, was unable to cope with the Company, yet, ſuſtained by the French, they are qualified to refuſe acquieſcence with our demands, which demands the iſland of Baſſeen offers

ſafeſt, the moſt ſimple, and the leaſt invidious principle on which this territory could be held, Mr. Francis pronounces to be that of a fixed tribute from the native prince of the country, avoiding all interference with the internal government. Circumſtances, ſays this ſagacious counſellor, inſeparable perhaps from the conſtitution of the Eaſt-India Company, diſqualified them in every ſenſe for the duty and office which the acquiſition of a territory in India impoſed upon them. A body of merchants had intereſts to provide for beſides thoſe which belonged to them in their aſſumed character of ſovereign. Profit, being the only object of a trading company, became the ſole object of government when the two characters were united. Commercial principles of the worſt quality, as derived from the conſtitution of an excluſive Company, were all the principles which the India Company brought with them into the government of a great kingdom, and IT HAS BEEN GOVERNED ACCORDINGLY.

"After

offers as the only proſpect of a ſecurity: that no obligation precludes us from demanding it, nor can any blame be imputed to us, if, as the ſuperior

" After raiſing the revenues as nearly as poſſible to the level of the rents, for the ſupport of their GOVERNMENT, they monopolized the produce and labor of the country for the ſupport of their TRADE. To obtain the higheſt poſſible revenue from the land, they were obliged to avow, or countenance, a principle ſubverſive of all national proſperity, and not leſs falſe in fact than abſurd in theory and dangerous in practice—' that the ruling power was proprietor of the ſoil.' On this principle they univerſally diſpoſſeſſed the hereditary and lawful owners, and farmed the country to ſtrangers. In a few inſtances, where the proprietors were employed, it was not in their true character, but as farmers of government. *There is* NO EXAMPLE, *I believe, of ſuch an* ACT OF POWER *in the* HISTORY *of* HINDOSTAN. ' Of all deſpotic governments,' M. Monteſquieu tells us, 'there is none more oppreſſive than that where the prince declares himſelf proprietor of the ſoil, and heir of all his ſubjects. It always follows that the cultivation of the earth is abandoned; but if, beſides this, the prince is a merchant, every ſpecies of induſtry is ruined.'

" Your lordſhip will ſoon perceive how much it is the general object of this repreſentation to eſtabliſh an opinion, that to make the poſſeſſion of Bengal beneficial and permanent, we ſhould revert to the antient inſtitutions of the country, as far as we are acquainted with them, and preſent circumſtances will permit. If it were not for the experience of ſome years paſt, it might be ſuperfluous to ſay, that we provide for our intereſts when we conſult the happineſs and proſperity of the people who labor for us.

" It appears to have been the Company's original policy, or that of lord Clive, to govern theſe provinces through the medium of the ſubahdar, and the beſt they could adopt, ſuppoſing

rior power, we preſcribe the terms of accommodation."

In addition to this demand, Mr. Haſtings, in the

poſing them to interpoſe in any ſhape in the internal government. This ſyſtem was ſoon violated in fact, and not long afterwards avowedly renounced. The predominant power of the council at Calcutta neceſſarily reduced the ſubahdar to a cipher, and left him and his ſubjects, as it will always do, a prey to individuals. Forms and appearances were, however, in ſome degree preſerved till the death of Syef ul Dowla, in 1770. From that period we ſee nothing in the adminiſtration of public affairs but enormous abuſes on one ſide, and an abſolute want of power or perſeverance to correct them on the other. The ſubahdar's authority, ſince the Company's acceptance of the dewannee, has been gradually reduced under three ſucceſſive nabobs, and is now merely titular in the perſon of Mobareck ul Dowla. The adminiſtration of criminal juſtice is, however, ſtill exerciſed in his name by the naib ſubah Mahomed Reza Khan, and we ſometimes avail ourſelves of the pretence of his authority in our differences with the foreign factories.

"The Company hold the dewannee by grant of the Mogul Sha Allum. The treaty concluded by lord Clive, Auguſt 1765, not only acknowledges him as king of Bengal, but ſecures to him the full poſſeſſion of Korah and Illahabad, as a royal demeſne for the ſupport of his dignity and expences; and by a particular agreement between him and the Company, of the ſame date, they engage themſelves to be ſecurity for the payment of twenty-ſix lacks a year, out of the territorial revenue, *in conſideration* of his majeſty's having been graciouſly pleaſed to grant them the dewannee of Bengal. Your lordſhip knows how little theſe treaties have been regarded. His tribute was ſtopped, and his country, though avowedly entruſted

the plan ſubſequently laid by him before the board, required "that the Mahratta government give ſuch ſecurity for the perſonal ſafety of Ragonaut

ed to our good faith, and accepted as a depoſit, ſold to Suja ul Dowla.

"The Britiſh power is now unqueſtionably the firſt in India, at leaſt for defence. To make it reſpectable in itſelf, and beneficial to mankind, it muſt be guided by ſolid, judicious principles of policy, and they muſt be ſteadily purſued. Enough has been done to eſtabliſh the reputation of our arms. If we mean to keep what we have acquired, *ſome* care muſt be taken to eſtabliſh an opinion of our ſteadineſs and juſtice.

"With reſpect to the amount and collection of the revenues, the principal queſtions are—1ſt, Whether the lands ſhall be reſtored to the hereditary owners? 2dly, Whether the revenues payable to government ſhall be fixed immutably at a certain ſum? and 3dly, By what rule or ſtandard that ſum ſhall be aſcertained?—To the two firſt queſtions I have invariably given an affirmative anſwer, founded on reaſons which I deem incontrovertible. The third muſt be determined by the capacity of the country, eſtimated from an average of the actual collections, and combined with the indiſpenſable demands of government. The *farming ſyſtem* was adopted as the act of a proprietor, with a profeſſed view of diſcovering the ultimate value of the eſtate, or the utmoſt that could be obtained from it. Your lordſhip will judge how far the end, ſuppoſing it attainable, could juſtify the means. To general Clavering, colonel Monſon, and myſelf, it always appeared an arbitrary, unexampled act of power, without a ſhadow of right to ſupport it. The principle on which it went annihilated every idea of private property, while in fact it has been ruinous to the country, for the ſole benefit of the Company's ſervants and their banyans. But even if the farms had in every inſtance been fairly allotted to the higheſt bidders, the meaſure

Ragonaut Row as *he himſelf* ſhall require; that a ſpecific ſum be demanded to re-imburſe the Company for their late military charges; that a grant

meaſure could have produced no other conſequence than that of forcibly alienating the whole landed property of the country in favor of indigent ſtrangers and adventurers, equally ignorant of the value and circumſtances of the farm, and careleſs how much they offered for immediate poſſeſſion. The laſt ſettlement made by the COMMITTEE of CIRCUIT promiſed an immoderate increaſe of revenue, at a time when the famine had ſwept away ONE THIRD of the inhabitants, and when the country was repreſented to be in a general ſtate of decay. What the real object of the meaſure was may be collected from the ſucceſs of it.

"The balances and remiſſions on the ſettlements of the laſt five years amount to the enormous ſum of two hundred and thirty lacks of ſicca rupees. The plain truth is, that over-rateament and remiſſion play into each other's hands. If the country be exorbitantly taxed, the governor and council *muſt* be truſted with a diſcretionary power to make remiſſions. This latitude once given, or aſſumed, it may be impoſſible to determine in what manner it is applied, or where the remiſſions centre at laſt, ſince the diſtribution may be ſo formed as to intereſt all parties in concealing it.

"If we had no facts or experience to guide our conjectures, it is apparent that a country expoſed to arbitrary variations in the annual aſſeſſments, at the diſcretion of a council of ſtate, eſpecially at this immenſe diſtance from the ſeat of empire, offers temptations which will not be ALWAYS reſiſted. Improvements in ſuch a ſtate of things are not to be expected, for who will employ his money or his labor in the cultivation of a ſoil that does not belong to him? or when he has no ſecurity that the whole produce may not be extorted from him by a new aſſeſſment?—The ſame ſyſtem of taxation

a grant of territory be made contiguous to Baſſeen; and that no European ſettlement be allowed on the Mahratta coaſts without conſent of the Company." At the ſame time he communicated a plan formed by the preſidency of Bombay, to re-inſtate Ragonaut Row in the peiſhwaſhip by force of arms, being invited to this enterpriſe by ſundry members of the Mahratta government.

After much oppoſition from Mr. Francis and Mr. Wheeler, who had recently ſucceeded ſir John Clavering as a member of the board, the governor's propoſals were carried in council by his own caſting vote; and it was finally determined to ſupport Ragonaut Row, in the event of the infraction of the Poonah or Poorunder Treaty, AS NOW EXPLAINED. Aſſerting that "the preſidency of Bengal was in a condition to aſſiſt Bombay abundantly with men and money to carry on the Mahratta war," Mr. Haſtings propoſed to march a large detachment of the

taxation which annihilates the property, attacks the induſtry of the ſubject, and invades the *ſources* of production.

"A NEW PRINCIPLE muſt be aſſumed for the government of the country, or it MUST FALL. The plain and ſimple remedy is, to oblige the Company to revert to their original principles, to renounce the unnatural character in which they have lately acted; and, if it be poſſible, TO BECOME MERCHANTS AGAIN."

Com-

Company's troops acroſs the continent, for the purpoſe of reinforcing the Bombay army. This alſo being carried in the ſame manner, the deſtined reinforcement under colonel Leſlie commenced this unprecedented march of 1100 miles early in May 1778.

Previous to this event, a letter was received from the court of directors, poſitively enjoining a ſtrict adherence to the treaty of Poorunder. But Mr. Haſtings, in a haughty and peremptory tone, declared "his unalterable determination to proſecute the meaſures in which he had now engaged, to the utmoſt of his power."

In order to promote and corroborate the ſucceſs of his project, Mr. Haſtings had for ſome time paſt moſt aſſiduouſly courted the friendſhip and alliance of the rajah of Berar, Moodajee Booſla, whoſe dominions occupied the intermediate ſpace between thoſe of the Company and of the Mahratta States, inciting and urging that prince, who was far advanced in years, and of a mild and pacific diſpoſition, openly to avow his claim to the ſovereignty of the Mahrattas, to which the rajah had ſome obſcure and remote pretenſions. "In the whole of my conduct," ſays the governor-general in a letter addreſſed to the prime-miniſter of the court of Naigpore (November 1778), "I have departed from the common line of policy, and have made advances when others in my

ſituation would have waited for ſolicitations; but I truſt to the approved bravery and ſpirit of the maha-rajah, that he will *ardently catch* at the objects preſented to his *ambition.*

Moodajee Booſla was, however, ſo far from being willing to embark himſelf and his fortunes in the wild and crude projects of the Engliſh governor, that he wrote with his own hand a letter to Mr. Haſtings, inculcating, in very reſpectful terms, and in a manner which did equal honor to his head and his heart, the moſt juſt and ſalutary maxims of conduct both moral and political:—"Your friendly letter," ſays the rajah, "of the 19th Ramzan, informs me that you have given directions to colonel Leſlie to co-operate with the forces which I ſhall unite with his; that as you offer me the forces of the circar to promote my views, you in return requeſt the aſſiſtance of mine to effect your purpoſes; that having thus explained to me your ſentiments and views, you wait only to know mine.—The having cauſed a tranſlation to be made into Engliſh of the Hindoo books called the Shaſta, &c. and keeping the pictures of the former kings of Hindoſtan before your eyes, from their lifeleſs ſimilitudes to diſcover which of them were worthy of rule and poſſeſſed of good faith—alſo the endeavour to preſerve the bleſſing of peace till *forced* to relinquiſh it—the ſupporting of every

every one in his hereditary right, and revenging the breach of faith and engagements, but, on the ſubmiſſion of the offenders, the exerciſe of the virtues of clemency and generoſity—the not ſuffering the intoxication of power to ſeduce you into a breach of faith, and the giving ſupport to each illuſtrious houſe, in proportion to its reſpective merits—theſe are the ſure means of exalting your greatneſs and proſperity to the higheſt pitch. The ALMIGHTY diſpoſes of kingdoms, and places whomſoever he pleaſes on the ſeats of power and rule; but makes their ſtability to depend on their peaceable, juſt, and friendly conduct to others. MY conduct is framed on theſe principles—I have not yet recovered the ſhock of Mr. Elliot's death: had he ſurvived, ſuch ſtrokes of policy would have been employed, that the ſuſpicions of the Poonah miniſters, from apprehenſions of ſupport being given to Ragonaut Row, which have cauſed them great uneaſineſs, would have been entirely removed."

Notwithſtanding the failure of this negotiation, Mr. Haſtings was not to be deterred from the proſecution of his project. In proportion as difficulties preſented themſelves, his perſeverance and pertinacity ſeemed to increaſe.

Colonel Leſlie, who commanded the army now on its march to Bombay, dying October 1778, was

ſucceeded by colonel Goddard. This able officer, after ſurmounting great and various obſtacles, reached the ſouthern banks of the Narbudda, within the territory of Berar, January 1779; and immediately detached lieutenant Wetherſtone to the court of Naigpore, again to urge the rajah's acceſſion to the propoſed plan of operation. But the lieutenant, in his letters to colonel Goddard, declares that the government of Berar were determined not to take any active part whatever with the Company's armies; that they had a thouſand arguments to oppoſe to thoſe he urged in favor of the plan for aſſuming the dignity of Ram-rajah of Setterah, *particularly* the faith pledged, and the alliance of friendſhip they had *ſworn to*, with the preſent peiſhwa; that the aſſerting their pretenſions to the ſovereignty would meet with numberleſs oppoſitions; and that ſucceſs could not be obtained without ſhedding much blood, and at the expence of violating the *ſacred engagements* before entered into with them.

Mr. Wetherſtone farther ſays, "that it ſeemed now to be the firſt wiſh of the court of Berar to ſet aſide our connection with Ragonaut Row, the ſupporting of whom they aſſerted to be highly impolitical, and that in the end it would be fully proved ſo; that this chief, Ragonaut Row, was held in univerſal abhorrence; and that the prejudices

judices againſt him in the Decan would not eaſily, if ever, be removed. And the rajah earneſtly offered his mediation to make up all the exiſting differences."

About this period, likewiſe, letters were received by the governor-general from Siccaram Pundit, prime-miniſter of the Poonah government, containing heavy complaints of the conduct of the Engliſh ſince the concluſion of the treaty of Poorunder. "The government of Bombay from that period has, in every inſtance, (he aſſerts) excited troubles and commotions, in violation of the ties of friendſhip; and notwithſtanding the expreſs ſtipulation to expel Ragonaut Row from the dominions of the Company, they have performed nothing thereof. Out of regard to the friendſhip and alliance of the Company, I call God to witneſs that the envoy of France was diſmiſſed without negotiating with him. It is mutually incumbent upon us to obſerve the terms of the treaty."

And again, in a ſubſequent diſpatch, the ſame miniſter ſays, "Notwithſtanding the concluſion of the treaty, the Bombay government kept Ragonaut Row with them. It even appears to a conviction, that they *perſuaded* Ragoba, i. e. Ragonaut Row, to the meaſures he has purſued. How then does the ſupreme authority of the council of Calcutta from the king of England

appear, ſince the chiefs of the different ſettlements do not regard engagements made by you as binding on them? And you, ſir, paying no regard to your own acts, take your meaſures on the repreſentations of the government of Bombay. This is indeed aſtoniſhing to the higheſt degree! It is the dictate of ſound policy, that you withdraw your troops to your own territory. This will be a convincing proof of the ſincerity of your friendſhip, and will ſpread the fame of your good faith throughout the univerſe. From the commencement of the government of the family of the peiſhwa, they have entered into treaties with many of the chiefs of the Eaſt and Weſt, *and have never before experienced ſuch a want of faith from any one.*"

In the mean time, pending theſe negotiations and the march of the Bengal army, the preſidency of Bombay, poſſeſſed with high ideas of their own ſtrength, confident of ſucceſs, and jealous leſt, by the arrival of the expected reinforcements, they ſhould be obliged to divide the honor and profit of the expedition into the Mahratta country with thoſe of whoſe aſſiſtance they had no need, having made all the previous military preparations, and formally declared the treaty of Poorunder void, put their troops in motion November 1778.

The event of this expedition cannot be better related

related than in the words of Row Ghee, reſident at the court of Poonah from the nabob of Arcot: "The Engliſh *ſurdars*," ſays this intelligent obſerver, in a letter to the nabob, "with an army conſiſting of 700 Europeans, eight battalions of ſepoys, and 40 pieces of cannon, marched, as I have already wrote to your highneſs, from Bombay to the paſſes. Siccaram Pundit and Nana Furneſe joined their forces, and ſatisfied the diſcontented chiefs, Scindia and Holkar, by giving them money, jaghires, and other preſents. All the chiefs having met to conſult, agreed unanimouſly 'not to receive Ragonaut Row, ſince he came with an army of Engliſh, who were of a different nation from them, and whoſe conduct in Sujah Dowla's country, the Rohilla country, Bengal, and the Carnatic, *they were well acquainted with.* Otherwiſe, in the end they would be obliged to forſake their religion, and become the SLAVES of EUROPEANS.' Upon this they exchanged oaths, and a great army was ſent to occupy the ghaut or paſs of Tullicanoon. Mr. Martyn, the Bombay reſident at Poonah, had encouraged the Engliſh to believe that, as ſoon as their army ſhould arrive at the ghaut, Holkar would join them with all his forces. The Engliſh, truſting to this, waited there with impatience for a whole month, but no one appeared to join their ſtandard. They then marched forward, although

much haraſſed by the Mahrattas, who at length completely cut off their ſupplies of proviſions.

" The Engliſh then determined upon retreating back to the ghaut; but Siccaram, gaining intelligence of their march, detached a large body of troops to intercept them. An obſtinate engagement enſued on the 13th of January, 1779, in which the Engliſh, being ſurrounded and overpowered, loſt 200 Europeans and 1200 ſepoys. No poſſibility of eſcape now remained; and on the renewal of hoſtilities on the 15th by a heavy cannonade from the Mahrattas, a gentleman, Mr. Farmer, advancing from the Engliſh camp, the firing ceaſed. The chiefs of the Mahrattas ſent for him into their preſence, and Mr. Farmer addreſſed them in the following words: —' We are only MERCHANTS—when diſputes prevailed with you, Ragonaut Row came to us and demanded our protection. We thought he had a right to the government, and gave him our aſſiſtance. Nothing but ill fortune attends him, and we have been brought to this miſerable ſtate by keeping him with us. You are maſters to keep him from us. We ſhall henceforth adhere to the treaties that have formerly taken place between us; be pleaſed to forgive what has happened.'

" The miniſter anſwered, ' Ragonaut Row is one of us—what right could you have to interfere

fere in our concerns with him? We now deſire you to give up Salſette and Baſſeen, and what other countries you have poſſeſſed yourſelves of. Adhere to the treaty made in the time of Bajalee Row *, and aſk nothing elſe.'.

"Next day at noon Mr. Farmer returned, and told Scindia 'that he had brought a blank paper ſigned and ſealed, which the Mahratta chiefs will fill up as they pleaſed.' Scindia told the chiefs, that although they had it in their power to make any demands they pleaſed, it would not be adviſable to do it at this time. For our making large demands would only ſow reſentment in their hearts, and we had better demand only what is neceſſary. Let Ragonaut Row be with us—let Salſette and the pergunnahs in Guzzerat be reſtored—let the Bengal army return back.'

"Theſe articles being written out on paper, in Perſian, Mahratta, and Engliſh, ſealed with the Company's ſeal, were ſigned at Worgaum by general Carnac and ſeven officers. Hoſtages were given for the due performance of them. After this the Mahratta ſurdars ſent them victuals, which they needed much. The Engliſh and ſepoys, grounding their arms, marched out, eſcorted by 2000 Mahratta horſe."

Intelligence of this diſaſtrous event having

* This treaty was made in September 1761.

reached

reached Calcutta, Mr. Haſtings declared in council, that general Goddard, in caſe of the failure of the Poonah expedition from Bombay, had his expreſs orders to recur to his negotiations with Moodajee Booſla, which implied his return to Berar. But that officer, regardleſs of this ſtrange inſtruction, proceeded by forced marches to Surat, agreeably to the requiſition of the preſidency of Bombay.—This government, in their diſpatches to the Supreme Council, after ſtating the defeat of their army, have the effrontery to ſay, "that they did not think themſelves obligated by the conditions of the ſubſequent treaty; but that, having intentions to enter into another, they had tranſmitted directions to general Goddard accordingly."

Mr. Haſtings expreſſed his approbation of the tenor of this diſpatch, and, declaring "that the treaty, being made by perſons unauthoriſed to ſubſcribe to ſuch conditions, was invalid, propoſed that general Goddard be commiſſioned to negotiate at the court of Poonah for the renewal of the treaty of Poorunder—and that the preſidency of Bombay be required to prepare for ſervice, whether offenſive or defenſive."

Mr. Francis entered in the council-book his reaſons for diſſenting from the governor-general, in a minute replete with good ſenſe and ſound policy. He admitted "the probability that peace might be obtained on the terms of the

treaty

treaty of Poorunder, provided this government be itſelf in earneſt in purſuit of its preſent object, and ſuffered not itſelf to be entangled in the deſperate ſchemes of thoſe who now conſtitute the government of Bombay. The reeſtabliſhment of peace on the Malabar coaſt I deem," ſaid this wiſe and faithful counſellor, "to be eſſential, not merely to the proſperity of the India Company, but to their exiſtence. Let a war upon that coaſt be conducted how it may, the difference between conqueſt and defeat, in my judgment, is little more than the delay or acceleration of the ruin of all our reſources. The annexed account ſhews that during the laſt five years they have received little leſs than 116 lacks of current rupees directly out of the revenues of Bengal. Yet their bond-debt accumulated daily, and now amounts to 38 lacks. By the month of October, the preſident Hornby ſays, their finances will be utterly exhauſted—in the interval they will want a ſupply of 30 lacks. Of this ſum the preſident propoſes to borrow 20 lacks, but doubts the poſſibility of raiſing ſo large a ſum; and if it could be borrowed, he ſays, they have no funds to pay even the intereſt. We ſhould do well to conſider how long we can maintain a war on ſuch a footing, before we engage in it. I will not ſuppoſe the caſe of new miſcarriages. Let it be admitted, that ſucceſs and conqueſt are as certain as the moſt ſanguine

ſanguine expectation can imagine, it does not follow that the objects to be obtained by them are ſuch as we ought to aim at in our preſent circumſtances, or that victory will pay its own expences. By extending our territorial poſſeſſions, we create irreconcileable enmity in the minds of thoſe powers whom we immediately rob of their property. We fill every other Indian ſtate with jealouſy and alarm, and the territory we acquire comes waſted and depopulated into our hands. The nation now perhaps looks to Bengal as its laſt and greateſt external reſource. But if this demand upon us from home were not ſo preſſing, and ſo likely to increaſe as I think it is, it is time for us to conſider whether there be in Great Britain a fundamental force equal to the tenure of unbounded acquiſition at this diſtance from the ſeat of empire; or whether we are not arrived at a point at which common prudence dictates to us to fix once for all the limits of our dominion. If my judgment were to prevail, it ſhould be our object to CONTRACT them." To the whole of this moſt judicious and weighty minute of Mr. Francis, the governor-general was pleaſed to declare, in very laconic terms, "that, from his anxiety to avoid controverſy, he ſhould decline any reply."

A letter was then read by the governor, in anſwer to the diſpatches from Bombay, which, though

though ſtrongly objected to by Mr. Francis and Mr. Wheeler, received the ſanction of Mr. Barwell, and of ſir Eyre Coote, who had now taken his place at the board as commander in chief of the Company's forces. In this letter, which is written in a ſtyle of ſuch artful and ſtudied confuſion as to be in many parts really unintelligible, the governor, in name of himſelf and council, acquaints the preſidency of Bombay, in terms which have at leaſt the merit of being plain and explicit, "that the government of Bengal refuſes to ratify even the ſmalleſt tittle of the treaty or convention of Worgaum; that general Goddard was inveſted with full powers to conclude a pacification with the court of Poonah, on the terms preſcribed in his inſtructions; and that, if the Mahratta miniſters ſhall reject thoſe propoſals, and the Company be reduced to the neceſſity of defending its rights by an open war, a latitude of action is left to general Goddard to avail himſelf of the ſituation which fortune ſhall preſent to him. With reſpect to Moodajee Booſla, it is confeſſed that little hope is at this time entertained of his concurrence; but if, beyond expectation, the rajah ſhall diſcover a willingneſs to accept of the propoſed alliance, inſtructions for that purpoſe are given to general Goddard. This negotiation is left," to adopt the ſtrange and perplexed phraſeo-

phraſeology of this letter, " to the ſole management of general Goddard, in the authority of thoſe inſtructions, until the period of their ſuſpenſion by the refuſal or ſuch heſitation of Moodajee Booſla as he ſhall deem ſufficient to warrant his declaring the negotiation ſuſpended. The future renewal of this negotiation we reſerve to be determined by our expreſs orders, but without revoking the credentials and inſtructions already granted to general Goddard reſpecting it." It would be hard indeed if the governor, in the event of any ſiniſter cataſtrophe, could not, under the impenetrable veil of ſuch myſterious ambiguity of direction, ſcreen himſelf from any diſagreeable reſponſibility.

Mr. Haſtings, in order to enforce the general ſyſtem of policy contained in this letter, moreover declared to the council, " that he never would ſuffer the object to be loſt, for which the detachment now commanded by general Goddard was firſt appointed." This paſſed in the month of June 1779; and by a letter from general Goddard, dated October following, the governor and council are informed, as they had every reaſon to expect, that the peiſhwa's miniſter had, in plain and poſitive terms, declared to him that his maſter would not accede to the propoſals made by general Goddard, or conclude peace with the Engliſh, unleſs Ragonaut Row, who

who had eſcaped, was delivered up to him, and Salſette ſurrendered to the Mahratta government; that, in conſequence of this declaration, general Goddard had broken off the negotiation, and prepared for war." As was predicted by Mr. Francis, the whole Mahratta race, including the RAJAH of BERAR, together with Hyder Ally Khan, and the nizam or ſubah of the Decan, in the higheſt degree exaſperated and inflamed at the treachery of the Engliſh government, now entered into an alliance, in conjunction with the French, to expel the Engliſh nation from India;—a combination of powers truly formidable, and which eventually ſhook the Britiſh empire in the Eaſt to its centre.

BOOK VIII.

Ravages of Hyder Ally in the Carnatic. Naval Encounters in the East Indies. Parliamentary Proceedings against Sir Thomas Rumbold. Sir Elijah Impey recalled from India. Ineffectual Resolutions of the House of Commons, and of the Court of Directors, for the Recall of Mr. Hastings from India. Military Operations in India. Resignation of Mr. Hastings. His Character. Attempt on the Isle of Jersey. Capture of St. Eustatia. Tobago taken by the French. Eustatia re-taken by the French. Naval and Military Operations in America. Colonel Tarleton defeated at the Cowpens. Victory of Lord Cornwallis at Guildford. General Green's masterly Conduct. Lord Cornwallis's Successes in Virginia. Reverse of Fortune. Lord Cornwallis and his Army made Prisoners of War. Triumph of the Americans on the Capture of a second Royal Army. Commodore Johnstone's Expedition to the Cape of Good Hope. Obstinate Engagement between the English and Dutch Fleets off the Dogger Bank. Spirited Proceedings of the Parliament and People of Ireland.

IN the progress of the war, thus wantonly provoked, the government of Bengal soon found itself reduced to the extremest necessity for money to defray the enormous expence of its complex and extended operations. Rolling his baleful eyes around, the governor-general at length fixed them on the territory of Benares, a province depending on the vizieriate of Oude, highly cultivated and populous, and the capital city of which, situated on the Ganges, has for

ages been regarded by the Hindoos as a place of peculiar and indelible ſanctity, as the ſeat and centre of their ſcience, their laws, their philoſophy, and religion. The late rajah of Benares, Bulwant Sing, during the wars between the vizier and the Company, had zealouſly attached himſelf to the Engliſh intereſt; and the court of directors, in their letter of May 26, 1768, acknowledge "the ſignal ſervices he had rendered them; and they expreſs their hope, that the attention paid to thoſe who have eſpouſed their intereſts in this war will *reſtore* their reputation in Hindoſtan, and that the Indian powers will be convinced that no breach of treaty will ever have their ſanction."

Two years after this Bulwant Sing died, leaving the ſucceſſion to his ſon, Cheyt Sing; and the council of Calcutta, Mr. Carter being then preſident, interpoſed their influence and authority at the court of Lucknow, in order to procure from the vizier juſt and reaſonable terms of ſettlement. It was finally agreed, that the rajah ſhould pay to the vizier a *peſhcuſh*, or fine, equivalent to about 200,000*l.* and that an annual advance of 30,000*l.* ſhould be made to the ſtated tribute. A ſolemn deed of confirmation was then paſſed by the vizier, and the rajah was inveſted with the government, amid the loud acclamations of a numerous and happy people.

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In the year 1773, at the immediate inſtance of Mr. Haſtings, this grant was anew confirmed and ratified by the vizier, with the additional and expreſs proviſion, that no increaſe of tribute ſhall ever hereafter be demanded; and that the government of Benares ſhall deſcend, on the terms of this agreement, to the heirs of the preſent rajah.

The governor-general, knowing the enmity which had long ſubſiſted between the vizier and the late rajah, declared himſelf "to be well convinced that the rajah's inheritance, and perhaps his life, are no longer ſafe than while he enjoys the Company's protection, which is his due by the ties of juſtice and the obligations of public faith." In the following year, 1774, the governor-general and council obtained the aſſignment of the ſovereignty paramount of the province of Benares by treaty with the nabob vizier of Oude, "without any encroachment," to adopt the words of the act of council, "on the juſt rights of the rajah, or the engagements actually ſubſiſting with him." And at the expreſs recommendation of Mr. Haſtings, by a new grant, farther privileges were conferred upon the rajah—viz. the ſovereignty of the mint, and the rights of criminal juſtice in the laſt reſort—the governor, in the record of this tranſaction in the council-book, making uſe of

theſe remarkable words: "The rajah of Benares, from the ſituation of his country, which is a frontier to the provinces of Oude and Bahar, may be made a ſerviceable ALLY to the Company; but, to inſure his attachment, his intereſt muſt be connected with it, which cannot be better effected than *by freeing him totally from the remains of his preſent vaſſalage, under the guarantee and protection of the Company*; and, at the ſame time, guarding him againſt any apprehenſions from this government, by thus PLEDGING its FAITH that no encroachment ſhall ever be made on his rights by the Company." Such were, at this period, the good-will and even generoſity of Mr. Haſtings, that he propoſed to receive the tribute of the rajah, amounting to 260,000*l.* per annum, punctually and cheerfully paid in monthly aſſeſſments—not at Benares, but at Patna, the neareſt provincial ſtation, "leſt the preſence of a reſident ſhould in any manner fruſtrate the intention of rendering the rajah INDEPENDENT—eventually reducing him," as Mr. Haſtings's extreme ſolicitude apprehended, "to the mean and depraved ſtate of a mere zemindar *."

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* It may be tranſiently remarked, without making any invidious application, as the time and occaſion do not coincide with theſe conceſſions and indulgences of the new governor, that, amongſt the preſents privately received by Mr. Haſtings, and

In this ſtate things remained till, in the year 1777, the rajah had the misfortune to give great and mortal offence to the governor-general—an offence, however unintentional, for which his final and utter ruin only could atone. In order to comprehend the nature of his delinquency, it is neceſſary to obſerve, that in the courſe of the preceding year, 1776, Mr. Haſtings, whether actuated by motives of paſſion, caprice, or temporary diſcontent, had, in his private and confidential correſpondence, authoriſed Mr. Maclean, his agent in England, to ſignify to the court of directors his deſire to reſign his office, and to requeſt their nomination of a ſucceſſor to the vacancy which would be thereby occaſioned in the Supreme Council. The court, after appointing a committee to examine into the powers veſted in Mr. Maclean, unanimouſly reſolved to accept the ſaid reſignation, and named Mr. Wheeler to fill the vacancy occaſioned by the ſame. A regular notification of this acceptance was immediately tranſmitted to India, and the diſpatches were read in council, June 19, 1777. Mr. Haſtings obſerving a profound ſilence on the ſub-

and which he originally meant, as he acknowledges, for ever to conceal, but which circumſtances afterwards induced him to diſcloſe, was the ſum of 23,000*l.* or two lacks of rupees, from the rajah Cheyt Sing.

ject of these dispatches, general Clavering addressed a letter to him on the following day, containing a formal requisition to the governor-general to surrender the keys of Fort William and of the Company's treasury. But Mr. Hastings, affecting surprise and indignation, peremptorily refused to comply with this demand—denying that his office was vacant, asserting that Mr. Maclean had exceeded his powers, and declaring his resolution to maintain his authority by every legal means. General Clavering, on the contrary, conceiving the office to be irrevocably vacated, and that he himself had legally succeeded to the government, issued summonses to the other members of the council, Mr. Barwell and Mr. Francis, and in the presence of Mr. Francis took the oaths as governor-general. On the other hand Mr. Hastings, supported by Mr. Barwell, issued directions to the commandant of the garrison of Fort William, to the provincial councils, and to the officers on the different military stations, enjoining them, at their peril, to obey no orders but such as should be signed by him or a majority of his council. Sir John Clavering, perceiving that Mr. Hastings was determined rather to risk a civil war than to resign the government, proposed a reference to the Supreme Court of Judicature; to which Mr. Hastings,

Haſtings, confiding in the *known integrity* of ſir Elijah Impey, readily conſenting, a deciſion was given in favor of Mr. Haſtings.

But this judicial confirmation of his authority by no means ſatisfied the haughty and revengeful ſpirit of the governor. Omitting, therefore, to ſummon ſir John Clavering and Mr. Francis to the next meeting of council, the governor, ſupported by the faithful Barwell, entered in the council-book a formal reſolve, importing, "that general Clavering having USURPED the preſidency of Bengal, had thereby relinquiſhed and vacated the office of ſenior counſellor and commander-in-chief of the Company's forces—and that, for the preſervation of the legality of their proceedings, the ſaid general Clavering be not in future ſummoned or admitted as a member of the council." This reſolve was notified to ſir John Clavering, and iſſued in general orders to the officers civil and military of the three provinces. At the enſuing meeting of council, Mr. Francis moved the reverſal of theſe proceedings; but Mr. Haſtings declared his determination to adhere to them, ſaying, "That they were not the precipitate effects of an inſtant and paſſionate impulſe, but the fruits of long and *temperate deliberation*, and of the ſtricteſt ſenſe of public duty." The chief-juſtice Impey having his reaſons for declining to ſupport the

governor in this exerciſe of his PUBLIC DUTY, Mr. Haſtings thought proper to move a ſubſequent reſolution in council, conformably to the advice of the judges, "That all parties be replaced in the ſame ſituation in which they ſtood before the receipt of the laſt advices from England."

Thus terminated this extraordinary buſineſs: but, moſt unfortunately for the rajah Cheyt Sing, on the firſt intelligence of general Clavering's advancement to the government, he had, with officious complaiſance, deputed a *vakeel*, or ambaſſador, to congratulate the new governor on his acceſſion. This, Mr. Haſtings, in his ſubſequent juſtification, urges as a preſumptive proof of the rajah's diſaffection to the Engliſh government; and the affront thus offered to him appears to have rankled in his proud and malignant mind till he found a fit opportunity for gratifying his dire revenge. Conſcious of his unlimited and uncontrolable power, the governor, who had juſt received intelligence of the declaration of war againſt France, propoſed in council, July 9th, 1778, ſir John Clavering being now deceaſed, "That the rajah of Benares ſhould *conſent* to the eſtabliſhment of three battalions of ſepoys, to be raiſed and maintained at his own expence;" and, notwithſtanding the alarm of the rajah at the firſt intimation of this

deſign,

deſign, and the vigorous oppoſition of Mr. Francis and Mr. Wheeler, the reſolve was carried into effect by the caſting vote of the governor. The ſum of five lacks of rupees, which was ſuppoſed to be equivalent to the expence of raiſing the three battalions, was demanded of the rajah to be paid in ſpecie within five days; and in caſe of non-compliance, the reſident Fowke was peremptorily enjoined to refrain from all further intercourſe with him. The affrighted rajah paid the money without delay or heſitation. But the ſame demand being renewed the following year, he ventured to remind the governor, in a moſt reſpectful letter, "that he was encouraged to believe the former demand would not be drawn into precedent. I am therefore hopeful," ſaid he, "you will be kindly pleaſed to excuſe me the five lacks now demanded, and that nothing may be demanded of me beyond the amount expreſſed in the *pottah*." In reply to this ſubmiſſive application, the governor repeated his demand that the rajah ſhould, without evaſion or delay, pay the five lacks of rupees—in caſe of his refuſal informing him that meaſures would be taken to oblige him to a compliance. The third year the ſame demand being made, the rajah again entreated a remiſſion, but without effect; and as a puniſhment for his *continued contumacy* the governor-general,

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in council, impoſed upon him an additional fine, or mulct of 10,000*l.* Theſe outrages failing to produce the effect intended on the mild and timid temper of the rajah, a ſudden demand was made, in addition to the tribute and ſubſidy, to provide a body of 2000 cavalry for the ſervice of the Company. It was in vain that the rajah proteſted he had no more than 1300 horſe in his ſervice; 500 of which, and 500 burkundaſſes or match-lock men, ſhould be ready to march to whatever place they ſhould be ſent. Mr. Haſtings deigned no anſwer whatever to this repreſentation, but declared "that he was determined to convert the faults of the rajah into a public benefit—that he would exact the ſum of 500,000*l.* as a puniſhment for his breach of engagements and other acts of miſconduct—and that if the rajah ſhould refuſe the demand he would deprive him of his government."

Mr. Barwell and Mr. Francis having by this time returned to England, and Mr. Wheeler only remaining in council, the ſole power and reſponſibility of government centred in the perſon of Mr. Haſtings*. For the purpoſe of executing

* In a letter written by Mr. Francis to the court of directors, dated December 12th, 1780, in the proſpect of his ſpeedy return to England, which took place early in the following year, he thus expreſſed himſelf:—"I ſhall contribute

ecuting more effectually theſe pre-concerted deſigns, the governor determined upon a journey to Benares; previous to which he veſted in himſelf, by a formal act, the entire powers of the Supreme Council. At the eve of his departure, however, he condeſcended to inform Mr. Wheeler, "that the offences of the rajah required puniſhment; and as his wealth was great, and the Company's exigencies preſſing, it was a meaſure of policy and juſtice to exact from him a large pecuniary mulct for their relief."

On the entrance of the governor-general into the province, he was met by the rajah in perſon with a magnificent attendance. Nevertheleſs, to ſhew his confidence in the juſtice of the governor, he entered alone the pinnace in which the governor had proceeded up the Ganges, and in a lowly and ſuppliant manner, putting his turban in his lap, entreated his favor. He was, however, repulſed with great arrogance; and, on the arrival of the governor at Benares, he received an injunction from Mr. Haſtings not to enter his preſence without his permiſſion.

On the ſucceeding day, the governor ſent articles of accuſation in writing to the rajah,

tribute my advice and aſſiſtance as long as I continue in the council; but I will not embarraſs the execution of meaſures which may prevail againſt my opinion by a uſeleſs, perhaps a dangerous, oppoſition to it."

importing,

importing, 1. That he had endeavoured to excite diſorders in the government on which he depended. 2. That he had ſuffered with impunity the perpetration of robberies and murders, even in the ſtreets of Benares, to the great and public ſcandal of the Engliſh name. 3. That he had delayed the payment of the ſums required of him for the Company's ſervice: and, 4. That he had not complied with the demand of cavalry —all of which amounted, as the governor aſſerted, to a direct charge of diſaffection and *infidelity* to the government on which the rajah depended —And to theſe articles of impeachment he demanded an immediate anſwer. On the evening of the ſame day, the rajah ſent in his defence, denying, in the moſt poſitive manner, the truth of the aforeſaid articles. "My enemies," ſaid he, "with a view to my ruin, have made falſe repreſentations to you. Now that, *happily for me*, you have yourſelf arrived at this place, you will be able to aſcertain all the circumſtances: 1. Relative to the horſe; 2. To my people going to Calcutta; 3. The dates of the receipts of the particular ſums above mentioned. I have never ſwerved in the ſmalleſt degree from my duty to you. It remains with you to decide on all theſe matters. I am in every thing your ſlave. What is juſt I have repreſented to you. May your proſperity increaſe!"—At this reply the governor expreſſed

expreſſed great wrath, declaring it to be leſs a vindication of the rajah than a recrimination on him; and that it was couched in terms of defiance, manifeſting a dangerous ſpirit of independency.

In conſequence of the rajah's offenſive and audacious conduct, Mr. Haſtings conceived himſelf obliged to adopt ſome deciſive plan—and an order was therefore immediately iſſued to put the rajah under an arreſt in his own palace. To this indignity the rajah, ſhocked as he appeared to be, ſubmitted with the moſt paſſive humility: "He hoped," he ſaid, "that the governor would allow him a ſubſiſtence in conſideration of his father's ſervices—but as for his zemindary, his forts, and his treaſures, he was ready to lay them at his feet, and his life if required." Being at once dejected with the ignominy, and diſmayed with the danger of his ſituation, ſurrounded by a guard of ſepoys with their ſwords drawn, he wrote to the governor—"Whatever be your pleaſure, do it with your own hands. I am your ſlave. What occaſion can there be for a guard? It depends on you alone to take away, or not to take away, the country out of my hands."

The higheſt alarm and aſtoniſhment being excited in the city of Benares by this arreſt of the rajah, great numbers of people aſſembled round the

the palace, nor could the earneſt and repeated entreaties of their prince reſtrain them from acts of violence—and believing the perſon of the rajah, who was much beloved by his ſubjects, to be expoſed to extreme hazard, they at length broke through the encloſure, and falling ſuddenly upon the guard of ſepoys and Engliſh officers, nearly the whole were cut to pieces. In the tumult the rajah made his eſcape over the walls of his palace by means of a cord formed of turbans tied together; and, croſſing the Ganges in a boat, fled to a place of refuge, whence he directed a ſuppliant letter to Mr. Haſtings, to which the governor affirmed "he did not think it becoming him to reply." On the contrary, leaving Benares with precipitation, he ordered the rajah's troops to be every-where attacked, as if the rajah had been in avowed and open rebellion. So inconſiderable, notwithſtanding, was the force by which he was attended, that the governor acknowledged the fate of the Britiſh empire in India to be expoſed, by theſe daring, or to ſpeak more properly, theſe raſh and frantic meaſures, to the moſt imminent danger; for the fate of the empire he ſuppoſed at this critical moment to be cloſely connected with that of his own perſon. "Mean as its ſubſtance may be, its accidental qualities," ſays the governor-general, "were equivalent to thoſe

which,

which, like the characters of a talifman in the Arabian mythology, formed the eſſence of the ſtate itſelf." By a confeſſion humiliating in proportion to its truth he declares, "*that* EVERY STATE *around would have* RISEN IN ARMS *againſt the* ENGLISH; *and* EVERY SUBJECT *of their own dominion would, according to their ſeveral abilities, have become an* ENEMY." Theſe few lines contain perhaps the bittereſt ſatire ever written upon any government, or upon any ſyſtem of deſpotiſm and oppreſſion that has impudently aſſumed the name*.

The troops in the province of Benares being, however, quickly reinforced, the territories of the rajah were completely reduced. The rajah having himſelf made his eſcape to the camp of the Mahrattas, orders were given by Mr. Haſtings to ſeize upon the fortreſs of Bidjegur, the reſidence of the Rannee Pauna, mother of Cheyt Sing, repreſented as a woman ſingularly amiable and virtuous, and againſt whom no delinquency was even pretended. The treaſures of the rannee being very conſiderable, ſhe was

* The records of antiquity ſeem indeed to furniſh no very diſtant parallel in the ingenuous avowal of the Hiſtorian LIVY reſpecting the Italian ſtates ſubject to the domination of Rome. "Nunquam iſti populi, niſi quum deerit ad quem deſciſcant, a nobis non deficient."

LIV. lib. xxxi. § 7.

deſirous

s to capitulate upon conditions, in order
e ſomething from the wreck of her for-
But Mr. Haſtings wrote to the com-
r, Major Popham, "I think every de-
the rannee has made to you, except that
ty and reſpect for her perſon, unreaſon-
-I apprehend that ſhe will contrive to
the captors of a conſiderable part of the
by being ſuffered to retire without ex-
ion. But this is your conſideration, and
ine. As to making any conditions with
a proviſion, I will never conſent to it."
econd letter he ſays, "If ſhe delays the
der beyond the term of twenty-four hours,
y poſitive injunction that you put a ſtop to
gotiation, *and on no account renew it*—Nor
grant her ANY CONDITIONS WHATEVER;
ave her expoſed to thoſe dangers ſhe has
to riſk, rather than truſt to the CLE-
Y and GENEROSITY of *our* government."
caſtle being accordingly ſurrendered
the time ſpecified, the articles of the
lation, by which an allowance of 15 per
was reſerved to the rannee, were never-
ſhamefully and outrageouſly broken, the
of the rannee and her attendants groſsly
d, and their effects plundered, notwith-
g the efforts and repreſentations of major
m, the commander, a man of honor and
humanity.

humanity. The governor, wholly intent upon the vindication of his conduct, evidently reſulting from the moſt obdurate pride and ſteadfaſt hate, was now engaged in cauſing a great number of affidavits and depoſitions, aiming to prove the exiſtence of a conſpiracy againſt the Engliſh government, to be taken by ſir Elijah Impey, who *happened* at this time, in the courſe of *an excurſion for the benefit of his health*, to be fortunately reſident at Benares.

In his ſubſequent famous narrative of this tranſaction to the court of directors, Mr. Haſtings heſitated not to aſſert, "that the rajah of Benares had no claim to the title or privileges of a prince—that the deeds which paſſed between him and the board upon the transfer of the zemindary in 1775 were not to be underſtood to bear the quality and force of a treaty between equal ſtates—that the payments to be made by him were not a tribute, but a rent—that, being nothing more than a *common zemindar*, he owed a perſonal allegiance and *an implicit and unreſerved obedience* to the authority of the Company, at the forfeiture of his zemindary, and even of his life and property *." Conceiving it poſſible, never-

* Perhaps the records of hiſtory do not exhibit a poſition more enormouſly extravagant, than that the ſovereign of a

nevertheleſs, that theſe extraordinary poſitions might ſtagger the faith of ſome perverſe or ſceptical perſons, he thought proper to ſubjoin an argument which could not fail to operate in his favor, viz. " That, if he *had* acted with an unwarrantable rigor, and even INJUSTICE, towards Cheyt Sing; yet, firſt, if he did believe that extraordinary means were neceſſary, and thoſe exerted with a ſtrong hand, to preſerve the Company's intereſt from ſinking under the accumulated weight that oppreſſed them—or, 2dly, if he ſaw a political neceſſity for curbing the overgrown power of a great member of their dominion, and to make it contribute to the relief of their preſſing exigences—that his error would be excuſable, as prompted by an *exceſs of zeal* for the Company's

province in the interior parts of Hindoſtan, exerciſing the powers of government over a happy and conſenting people, ſhould owe *implicit and unreſerved obedience* to a Company of traders inhabiting a *barbarous iſland* on the other ſide of the globe. In vindication of the arbitrary and exceſſive fine of 500,000*l.* impoſed by Mr. Haſtings on the rajah, the governor, in his MINUTES of DEFENCE, pretends, " that, notwithſtanding the privileges guarantied to the rajah, the *right of fine* was expreſsly reſerved to the Company :"— and he affirms this right to be woven into the texture of the Mogul government. If ſo, it is evident that all ſtipulations for the payment of a ſpecific tribute are trifling and ridiculous. But his authorities moſt egregiouſly fail him. 1. He tells us that the vizier Sujah ul Dowla levied a fine on the death of the father for the inveſtiture

Company's intereſt operating with too ſtrong a bias upon his judgment.

After the depoſition of the rajah Cheyt Sing, Mr. Haſtings, in virtue of the commiſſion with which he had inveſted himſelf, exerciſed an authority over the province of Benares nothing leſs than deſpotic. Setting aſide all former agreements, although evidently made with the rajahs not in their perſonal but political capacity, he increaſed the tribute, or ſtated rent-charge, from 260,000 to 400,000*l.* per annum. Having beſtowed the government on a youth called Mehip Narrain, a deſcendant by the mother from the rajah Bulwant Sing, he, in addition to the tribute, impoſed ſuch heavy and grievous duties on merchandize, as threatened the abſolute annihilation of their commerce; charging moreover penſions on the revenues of the province, and

veſtiture of the ſon.—True: but the agreement was, in this caſe, on both ſides optional—the zemindary or principality not being hereditary in the family of Bulwant Sing till ſo declared by the ſubſequent treaty of 1773. 2. He alleges, that when the right of the mint was transferred to the rajah, it was articled, that the proper weight and ſtandard ſhould be preſerved by the rajah, under pain of forfeiting the mint, and being *liable to any penalty* the Board might think proper to impoſe. But in this, as in the former inſtance, the rajah voluntarily accepted the grant with the condition annexed. Yet from theſe premiſes Mr. Haſtings prepoſterouſly infers that the enormous fine arbitrarily impoſed by him was "conſonant to the engagements between the Company and the rajah."

ſending large bodies of troops into the territory of Benares, to be maintained by the oppreſſed and impoveriſhed inhabitants.

The father of the new rajah, Durbitzee Sing, who was appointed guardian and adminiſtrator to his ſon, was by Mr. Haſtings in a ſhort time depoſed from his office, on a vague and general charge of mal-adminiſtration and DEFICIENCY in his PAYMENTS, and thrown into priſon. His property being confiſcated, and his perſon endangered, he in a ſhort time died overwhelmed with diſtreſs and ruin.

"When a new ſyſtem was to be formed with the ſucceſſor of Cheyt Sing," ſays Mr. Haſtings, "I ſaw no objection to making the Company's intereſt my *firſt principle of action.* The eaſy accumulation of too much wealth had been Cheyt Sing's ruin. It had buoyed him up with extravagant and ill-founded notions of independency, which I much wiſhed to diſcourage in the future rajah. Some part, therefore, of the ſuperabundant produce of the country I turned into the coffers of the ſovereign, i. e. the Company, by an augmentation of the tribute."

Here the grand object of the Britiſh government in India, as adminiſtered by Mr. Haſtings, is openly and undiſguiſedly avowed—*The filling the Company's coffers with money* was by him held to be the *firſt principle of action.* Happy would

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it indeed have been for the inhabitants of Hindoſtan, if even this abominable and infamous principle had been purſued by rational and politic means, ſuch as would have ſecured, unimpaired, the *ſources of proſperity*, though for the mere purpoſe of ſubſequent plunder and emolument.

On the depoſition of Durbitzee Sing from the regency, a man of obſcure origin, one Jagher Deo Sheo, was exalted to this dangerous pre-eminence. This new miniſter, warned by the fate of his predeceſſor, extorted the tribute money and other duties impoſed by the governor with the moſt rigorous ſeverity. The trade and cultivation of the province having in a ſhort time declined in an incredible degree, the reſident at Benares declared to the board at Calcutta, that the collection of the revenue was become very difficult. But of this fact the governor-general himſelf gave the moſt deciſive atteſtation. Paſſing through the province of Benares, in his progreſs to Lucknow, in the ſpring of 1784, he declares, in a letter addreſſed to the council at Calcutta, "that he was *fatigued* with the clamors of the diſcontented inhabitants. Though the drought of the preceding ſummer might contribute to heighten the diſtreſs, the governor acknowledges there is reaſon to believe that the cauſe exiſted principally in a defective, if not corrupt and oppreſſive, adminiſtration. The avowed principle (ſays he) on which the pre-

ſent adminiſtration acts, is, that the whole ſum fixed for the revenue of the province *muſt* be collected, and that the deficiency ariſing in places where the crops have failed muſt be ſupplied from the reſources of others where the induſtry of the cultivators has been more ſucceſsfully exerted.

" In the management of the cuſtoms, the exorbitant rates exacted by an arbitrary valuation of the goods, the practice of exacting duties twice on the ſame goods, firſt from the ſeller and afterwards from the buyer, and the vexatious diſputes and delays drawn on the merchants by theſe oppreſſions, were loudly complained of. Under ſuch circumſtances, we are not to wonder if the merchants of foreign countries are diſcouraged from reſorting to Benares.

" One evil I muſt mention, becauſe it has been verified by my own obſervation, and is of that kind which reflects an UNMERITED REPROACH on our general and national character. When I was at Buxar, the reſident, at my deſire, enjoined the naib to appoint creditable people to every town through which our route lay, to *perſuade and encourage* the inhabitants to remain in their houſes, promiſing to give them guards, as I approached, for their protection.—But to my great diſappointment, I found every place through which I paſſed ABANDONED. I am ſorry to add, that from Buxar to the oppoſite boundary,

ry, I have ſeen NOTHING but TRACES of COMPLETE DEVASTATION in EVERY VILLAGE.—I cannot help remarking, that, except the city of Benares, the province is in effect without a government. The adminiſtration of the province is miſconducted, and the people oppreſſed; trade diſcouraged, and the revenue in danger of a rapid decline from the violent appropriation of its means."

Such is the picture, drawn by the hand of the maſter artiſt, of the bleſſed effects of Britiſh government in India!—In order to remedy theſe evils, the governor propoſed to eject the new adminiſtrator from his office; which was ſoon afterwards accordingly done, and a temporary adminiſtration for the government of the province ſubſtituted, without however making any proviſion for a reduction of taxes, or a remiſſion of tribute. The oppreſſion of Jagher Deo Sheo being doubtleſs, in the eyes of the governor, a crime of much leſs magnitude than the impunctuality of his predeceſſor Durbitzee Sing, he eſcaped with a ſimple diſmiſſion, without incurring the penalties of fine, impriſonment, and death.

If the conduct of Mr. Haſtings in relation to the province of Benares ſhould be deemed liable to ſerious exception, it is to be feared that an examination of his ſyſtem of policy reſpecting

the vizieriate of Oude, a far more extenſive ſcene of operation, will tend but little to redeem his character. It muſt ſuffice, for this is not a profeſſed hiſtory of the adminiſtration of Mr. Haſtings, lightly to touch upon a few leading points of this too fertile topic.

The terms of the treaty concluded in the year 1765 with the vizier Sujah ul Dowla, by the late lord Clive, left that great and powerful province in a conſiderable meaſure dependent upon the Company. From this fatal period the decay and deſolation of the vizieriate commenced; for to come into contact with the Engliſh government, ſeemed univerſally and inſtantly to produce a ſort of political paralyſis. The annual revenue, which was eſtimated at more than three millions, had ſunk in the year 1779 to leſs than one million and a half. The vizier had contracted to maintain at his own expence a brigade of the Company's troops in his ſervice, for ſo long time as he might deem them neceſſary for the defence of his country. But the court of directors, in their letter to the governor and council of the 15th of December, 1775, expreſsly ſay, "If you intend to exert your influence, firſt to induce the vizier to acquieſce in your propoſal, and afterwards to compel him to keep the troops in his pay during your pleaſure, your intents are unjuſt, and a correſpondent conduct

conduct would reflect great dishonour on the Company." But Mr. Haſtings had long learnt to hold the orders of his ſuperiors in contempt, and to ſet their authority at defiance. The nabob Aſoph ul Dowla, who had ſucceeded his father in the vizieriate, February 1775, making very earneſt ſupplication to be relieved from this burden, which the reduced ſtate of his revenue rendered him utterly unable to ſupport, Mr. Haſtings without heſitation declared "the relief deſired to be totally inadmiſſible;"—farther affirming, "that the *tone* in which the demands of the nabob were aſſerted gave cauſe for the moſt alarming ſuſpicions;" though it is difficult to conceive how language more ſubmiſſive and humble could have been adopted.

"During three years (ſays the nabob) the expence occaſioned by the troops in brigade, and others commanded by European officers, has much diſtreſſed the ſupport of my houſehold, inſomuch that the allowances made to the ſeraglio and children of the deceaſed nabob have been reduced to one-fourth of what it had been. The attendants and ſervants of my court have received no pay for two years paſt, and applications from my father's private creditors are daily preſſing upon me. All theſe difficulties I have for three years ſtruggled through, and found this conſolation therein, that it was complying with the pleaſure

pleaſure of the Honorable Company, and in the hope that the Supreme Council would make enquiry, from impartial perſons, into my diſtreſſed ſituation: but I am now FORCED to a repreſentation. From the great increaſe of expence, the revenues were neceſſarily farmed out at a high rate, and deficiencies followed yearly. The country and cultivation are ABANDONED; and as to the European troops, the nabob declares that they brought nothing but confuſion into the affairs of his government, and were entirely their own maſters."

Far from being moved by theſe repreſentations, the governor-general declared, in his inſtructions tranſmitted to the reſident Purling at the court of Lucknow, "that the nabob ſtands engaged to our government to maintain the Engliſh armies formed for the protection of his dominions, and that it was OUR part, and not HIS, to judge and determine in what manner and at what time theſe ſhall be reduced and withdrawn." And in a minute of conſultation on this ſubject, at the council board, Mr. Haſtings aſſerted "that the arrangement of meaſures between the Britiſh government and the native powers of India muſt, in caſe of diſagreement about the neceſſity thereof, be decided by the STRONGEST."

This being his avowed ſyſtem of policy, it can excite

excite no wonder that the government and country of Oude ſhould proceed, with rapid and accelerated progreſs, to the extremity of political diſtreſs and ruin. Mr. Haſtings himſelf, towards the cloſe of his adminiſtration, thus, in a minute of council, expreſſes his ſenſe of the ſituation of the vizier:—"Our alliance has proved the extinction of his ſovereignty, and the impoveriſhment of his country and revenue."

In the year 1781, a commiſſion of delegation having been executed at Calcutta, inveſting Mr. Haſtings with the entire powers of the Supreme Council, the governor-general reſolved to viſit the province in perſon. At a meeting which took place at Chunar, on the confines of Benares, a ſecret treaty was concluded by the governor with the vizier, containing ſeveral articles of an extraordinary nature: and it has been ſaid, that no treaty ever contained ſo much treachery in ſo ſmall a compaſs. By this time the claims upon the nabob, on various grounds and pretences, aroſe to the enormous ſum of 2,785,000*l.* ſterling, which was conſiderably more than two years net produce of the nabob's revenues. In order to liquidate this debt, Mr. Haſtings urged the nabob, and an article to this effect was inſerted in the treaty of Chunar, to a general reſumption of the jaghires, or government aſſignments upon land, throughout the province, to the

the amount of many hundred thouſand pounds annual rent, including the proviſions made by the former nabob-viziers for the princes of their blood, and the antient friends and dependents of their family. The eſtates thus confiſcated were re-let on rack rents, and at the ſame time mortgaged to rich bankers of Benares, to ſupply the immediate wants of the Engliſh government.

A GIFT from the vizier of 100,000*l.* was alſo at this period accepted by Mr. Haſtings; which being, as he confeſſed, a ſum of too great magnitude to be concealed, he, after ſome deliberation, thought proper to appriſe the court of directors of this violation of *their* commands, and of his *own oath.* But he nevertheleſs had the preſumption to expreſs his hope "that, in conſideration of his long and faithful ſervices, and the ſums he had expended from his private fortune upon their account, they would permit him to apply this donation to his own uſe."

The confuſion and diſtreſs conſequent on the late violent expedient of reſumption, and other devices of extortion, it is impoſſible in adequate terms to deſcribe. The whole fabric of civil government ſeemed to totter, and verge upon annihilation and anarchy. The regular authority of the magiſtracy, and the adminiſtration of juſtice, totally ceaſed; and no power was viſible but that of the farmers of the revenue, attended

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by bodies of troops to enforce the collections. The country was declared by one of the nabob's miniſters to be 'a ſpeaking picture of famine and woe.'—"From the total want of police," ſays the reſident Briſtow, "hardly a day eſcapes but I am informed of ſome tragical event, whereof the bare recital is ſhocking to humanity:" and he confeſſes that his feelings are ſenſibly hurt, and his compaſſion ſtrongly excited, by the diſgraceful and miſerable ſtate of poverty to which the brothers of the nabob are reduced. From three of theſe princes, Mirza Ali, Mirza Hyder, and Mirza Sief, the reſident received an affecting repreſentation, or memorial, in which they ſay, "Our ſituation is not fit to be told—For two years we have not received an *hubba* on account of our *tuncaw* (aſſignment on the revenue). It is ſurpriſing, having ſuch a friend as you, our ſituation is arrived at that paſs that we ſhould be in diſtreſs for bread and clothing——YET we are the SONS of Sujah ul Dowla!" But the heart of Mr. Haſtings never in any inſtance counteracted the deſigns of his head, and the wretched inhabitants of Oude were deſtined to ſee yet greater abominations than theſe.

The mother and wife of the late nabob kept their court at the city of Fyzabad, where, after the cuſtom of the Eaſt, they lived in much magnificence,

magnificence, having the charge of educating the numerous offspring of the deceaſed ſovereign, and of maintaining a houſehold conſiſting of 2000 perſons. To ſupport this vaſt expence, the nabob had left them a large proportion of his treaſures, and had ſettled upon them *jaghires* ſuitable to their high rank and dignity, and to the importance of the truſt committed to them; ſolemnly and earneſtly recommending at the ſame time the intereſts of his family to the guardian care and protection of the Company, by whom their poſſeſſions had been ſubſequently and authentically guarantied. By the treaty of Chunar, nevertheleſs, the preſent nabob was authoriſed by Mr. Haſtings to ſeize upon the jaghires, or landed eſtates, of theſe illuſtrious relatives, and to allow them *penſions* equal to the amount; and this the governor pretended was conformable to the Mahommedan law*.

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* Soon after the deceaſe of Sujah ul Dowla, a diſpute aroſe between Aſoph ul Dowla his ſucceſſor, and the Begums his relations, reſpecting the proportion of treaſure which legally appertained to them; and the board of Calcutta, taking cognizance of this matter, unanimouſly decided (ſir John Clavering, colonel Monſon, and Mr. Francis, then ſitting at the board) that by the Mahommedan law the princeſſes were entitled only to the property of their huſbands within the zenana or ſeraglio where they reſided. The Begums cheerfully acquieſced in this deciſion; in conſequence of which, a vaſt ſum was refunded by them, and their remaining treaſure ſecured

The nabob appearing, nevertheleſs, manifeſtly reluctant to carry this odious project into execution, Mr. Haſtings ſignified his pleaſure to *his own* reſident at Lucknow, Mr. Middleton, "that as this meaſure originated with the Engliſh, and was intended for their benefit, the execution was to be FORCED upon him,"—although the expreſs words of the treaty of Chunar were merely, "that the nabob be *permitted* to reſume ſuch jaghires as he may think neceſſary."

In order to impart ſome color of juſtice to this outrage, depoſitions the moſt futile and ridiculous were, as recently at Benares, extra-judicially made before ſir Elijah Impey, who unexpectedly preſented himſelf in the courſe of his progreſs, after leaving Benares, firſt at Chunar, then at Lucknow. For this magiſtrate ſo miſerably degraded his character and ſtation as to become a principal agent in this buſineſs. And ſuch was the ſilent celerity of his movements that the

ſecured by a formal guarantee, in which Mr. Haſtings concurred, though, as he inſinuates, without reſponſibility, "being then an inefficient member of the Board." But for Mr. Haſtings to appeal to the KORAN as a ſanction for his ſubſequent enormities, is, to adopt the language of Mr. Sheridan, in his famous ſpeech of February 7, 1787, "as if there were ſomething in the inſtitutions of Mahommed that made it meritorious for a Chriſtian to be a ſavage—that rendered it criminal to treat the inhabitants of India with humanity or mercy—that even made it impious in a ſon not to plunder his mother!"

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chief-juſtice has been with humorous alluſion compared to the ghoſt in Hamlet, exclaiming in almoſt every quarter at the ſame inſtant, "SWEAR!" Theſe affidavits, founded on vague and incoherent rumors, were deſigned to prove, that the princeſſes of Oude fomented the inſurrection at Benares, and were even engaged in a plot for the dethronement of their own ſon, and the utter extirpation of the Engliſh nation. Very little ſtreſs, however, was at this criſis placed by Mr. Haſtings on the validity of theſe proofs, which were evidently calculated to anſwer a different and diſtant purpoſe *.

"Your pleaſure," ſays Mr. Middleton, "reſpecting the Begums I have learnt from ſir Eli-

* Major Marſack, in the courſe of his examination at the bar of the houſe of commons, May 8, 1786, being aſked whether there was any reaſon to believe that the Begums had, in conjunction with other powers, formed a plan for the extirpation of the Engliſh, anſwered, "that ſuch a thing was too abſurd to be credited by any perſon knowing the poſition of affairs at that time in India." He acknowledged, "that a univerſal diſaffection prevailed throughout all the provinces of Oude, owing to the meaſures of our government, and the unheard-of oppreſſions of colonel Hannay, the commander of the Engliſh troops; the effects of which appeared in deſerted villages and uncultivated tracts of land from one end of the country to the other.—That on colonel Hannay's departure for Benares, the inhabitants aroſe in a tumultuous manner; and he profeſſed his belief that all men under their ſituation and circumſtances, who poſſeſſed the feelings and ſpirit of men, would have extirpated us, if in their power."

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jah Impey.—Finding the nabob wavering in his determination about the reſumption of the jaghires, I this day ordered the neceſſary *perwannahs* for that purpoſe. But before they were tranſcribed, I received a meſſage from the nabob, entreating that I would withhold them till the morning. As it is poſſible that the nabob, ſeeing the buſineſs will at all events be done, may make it an act of his own, I have conſented to *indulge* him in this requeſt."

The nabob at length iſſued his *perwannahs*, but with extreme reluctance, and, to uſe the language of Mr. Middleton, "after much trifling evaſion and puerile excuſes;"—the irreſiſtible effuſions, no doubt, of that natural affection which it is ſo difficult totally to eradicate from the human heart, but which by men hardened in villany is regarded as fond and childiſh imbecility. "At the ſame time the nabob declared," ſays Mr. Middleton, "both to me and his miniſters, that it was an ACT of COMPULSION."

In a ſubſequent letter Mr. Middleton informs the governor, that the vizier, wiſhing to evade the meaſure of reſumption, ſuggeſted to him, that the debt of the Company might be better and more expeditiouſly liquidated by taking the amount at once from the treaſures left by his father. With all the eager rapacity of a bird of prey, which in the act of ſeizing with outſtretched

ſtretched beak its helpleſs quarry aims to graſp another victim alſo in its talons, Mr. Haſtings, ſtill inſiſting upon the reſumption of the jaghires, declared his reſolution alſo to ſeize the treaſures; enjoining upon the agent Middleton, under menaces of a dreadful reſponſibility, the execution of this barbarous act, in the following peremptory terms:—"You yourſelf muſt be perſonally preſent. You muſt not allow any negotiation or forbearance, but muſt proſecute BOTH SERVICES until the Begums are at the entire mercy of the nabob." In conformity to this order, the Britiſh reſident, at the head of a body of troops, accompanied by the terrified vizier, marched to Fyzabad, and with little or no reſiſtance ſtormed firſt the town and then the caſtle. The chief officers of the houſehold, the eunuchs Jewar Ali Khan and Bahar Ali Khan, perſons of diſtinguiſhed rank, who had been in high truſt and favor with the late nabob, were ignominiouſly thruſt into confinement, in order to extort from them the diſcovery of the treaſures and effects committed to their care. In conſequence of theſe ſeverities, the Bhow Begum, i. e. the mother princeſs, at length conſented to the ſurrender of her treaſures, hid in the moſt ſecret receſſes of the palace, to the amount of the bond-debt due from the nabob to the Company. But avarice is inſatiable as the

grave.

grave. Another demand of 120,000*l.* was made for the balance pretended to be due *ſince* the execution of the bond: and to enforce compliance, the two eunuchs were, by order of the reſident Middleton, committed to cloſe cuſtody, put in irons, and kept from all food. To raiſe this ſum, great part of the furniture of the palaces, the jewels, and other effects of the Begums, even to the wardrobe, were diſpoſed of by public ſale.

Fully appriſed of the diſtreſsful ſituation of the princeſſes, Mr. Haſtings could, nevertheleſs, write at this period to the reſident Middleton as follows:—"The nabob having conſented to the reſumption of the jaghires held by the Begums, and to the confiſcation of their treaſures, and thereby involved my own name, and the CREDIT of the COMPANY, in a participation of both meaſures, I have a right to require and inſiſt on the complete execution of them, and I look to you for their execution, declaring that I hold you accountable for it *."

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* Mr. Haſtings has indeed in his defence alleged, that he was *ignorant* of many tranſactions imputed to him reſpecting this buſineſs. But of thoſe which were in any degree material to ſubſtantiate the charge of criminality, he could NOT plead ignorance. "If Mr. Middleton did not give him an exact account of the groans that were heaved, the tears that were ſhed, the weight of the fetters, or the depth of the dungeon,

It may eaſily be imagined, that the penſions allotted to the Begums and other jagheerdars, in lieu of their jaghires, would be very ill and defectively paid. In the month of March, 1782, the officer on duty at Fyzabad, major Gilpin, wrote to the reſident:—"The women belonging to the Khord Mohul, or leſſer palace, are in want of every neceſſary of life, and are driven to that deſperation, that they threaten to throw themſelves from the walls of the zenana." In a ſubſequent letter it is ſaid, "The women in the zenana aſſembled laſt night on the tops of the building, crying in a moſt lamentable manner for food."—And in a third letter—"The repeated cries of the women for ſubſiſtence was truly melancholy. They beg moſt piteouſly for liberty, that they may earn their daily bread by laborious ſervitude, or to be releaſed from their miſery by immediate death." At length the Company's reſident, Mr. Briſtow, ventured, of his own authority, very little to the ſatisfaction of Mr. Haſtings, to order the removal of the troops, and the releaſe of the priſoners Bahar

he ſtated," ſays Mr. Sheridan (vide his Speech, June 1788), "every important ſtep that was taken in the progreſs and winding-up of this relentleſs tragedy." In fact, nothing of moment was done without the expreſs command of Mr. Haſtings; for even Mr. Middleton, a man little troubled with compunctious viſitings of nature, diſcovered no ſymptoms of alacrity in the execution of his direful commiſſion.

and

and Jewar Ali Khan, who had now been confined and in irons for near twelve months. "The quivering lips," ſays the commander of the troops at Fyzabad, ſpeaking of their enlargement, "and the tears of joy ſtealing down the poor men's cheeks, was a ſcene truly affecting."

The diſtreſſes of the zenana nevertheleſs ſtill continued, and the women, breaking by frantic violence the ſacred bounds of the palace, exhibited themſelves in this ſtate of degradation and deſpair to the aſtoniſhed inhabitants of Fyzabad, in the public bazar or market-place of that great and populous city. But after this act of deſperation they do not appear to have been permitted to ſuffer equal extremity.

In a letter from the Bhow Begum to the reſident Briſtow, this unfortunate princeſs ſays: "An accuſation was framed againſt me, which I had never conceived even in idea, of rendering aſſiſtance to rajah Cheyt Sing. Having ſeized my head eunuchs, Jewar Ali Khan and Bahar Ali Khan, they obliged them to ſign a bond for ſixty lacks of rupees. They were thrown into priſon with fetters about their feet, and denied food and water. I, who had never even in my dreams experienced ſuch an oppreſſion, gave up all I had to preſerve my honor and dignity.—My ſufferings did not terminate here. The diſturbances of colonel Hannay and Mr. Gordon

were made a pretence for ſeizing my jaghire. The ſtate of the matter is this: When colonel Hannay was by Mr. Haſtings ordered to march to Benares, during the troubles of Cheyt Sing, the colonel, *who had plundered the whole country*, was incapable of proceeding from the union of thouſands of zemindars, who had ſeized this favorable opportunity. They haraſſed Mr. Gordon near Junivard, and oppoſed his march. Mr. Gordon forded the river upon his elephant. In the mean time a letter was received by me from colonel Hannay, deſiring me to eſcort Mr. Gordon to Fyzabad. As my friendſhip for the Engliſh was always ſincere, I readily complied, and ſent ſome companies of nejeebs to eſcort Mr. Gordon and all his effects to Fyzabad; where, having provided for his entertainment, I effected his junction with colonel Hannay. The letters of thanks I received from both theſe gentlemen are ſtill in my poſſeſſion. But is it not extraordinary that, notwithſtanding the juſtneſs of my cauſe, nobody relieves my misfortunes?"

In the letter of colonel Hannay, referred to by the Begum, that officer, in the Oriental phraſeology, ſays: "Begum Saib of exalted dignity! Your exalting letter, fraught with grace and benevolence, I had the honor to receive in a fortunate moment. Your faithful ſervant repoſeth his

his moſt unbounded hopes and expectation upon your highneſs, that Mr. Gordon may arrive at Fyzabad without apprehenſion or danger." And Mr. Gordon expreſſes himſelf in a ſtill higher ſtrain of reſpect and gratitude—"Begum Saib of exalted dignity and generoſity! Your gracious letter, in anſwer to the petition of your ſervant from Goondah, exalted me. The welfare of your ſervant is entirely owing to your favor and benevolence. Continue to exalt and honor me with your gracious letters—May the ſun of proſperity continually ſhine!"

When the intelligence of theſe aſtoniſhing tranſactions reached the court of directors, that aſſembly, in which an high ſenſe of honor and virtue, *occaſionally diſcoverable*, too unavailingly, contended againſt the ſuggeſtions of ambition and intereſt, ordered a letter to be written to the governor and council, in which they ſay, with reference to the iniquitous and enormous plan of ſeizure and reſumption, "WE HOPE and TRUST, for the honor of the Britiſh nation, that this meaſure appeared FULLY JUSTIFIED in the eyes of all Hindoſtan. It no where appears, from the papers *at preſent* in our poſſeſſion, that they, the Begums, excited any commotions previous to the impriſonment of Cheyt Sing, and only armed themſelves in conſequence of that

tranſaction; and it is probable, that ſuch a conduct proceeded from motives of ſelf-defence, under an apprehenſion that they themſelves might likewiſe be laid under unwarrantable contributions." And the court expreſsly ordered an ENQUIRY to be inſtituted into this matter, and, if the charge proved to be unfounded, that their jaghires ſhould be reſtored.

If the directors of the Company really entertained any ſerious doubt as to the light in which this daring act of atrocity appeared in the view of the inhabitants of Hindoſtan, it would be inſtantly decided by the teſtimony of major Brown, Mr. Haſtings's *own reſident* at the court of Dehli, who, in a letter addreſſed to Mr. Briſtow, reſident at Oude, informs him, that in a conference he had lately held with Mirza Shuffee Khan, prime miniſter of the Mogul, ſpeaking of the ſituation of the Begums, that miniſter told him, "There is not a man in HINDOSTAN who will attribute the act to the vizier of Oude, but EVERY ONE will fix the odium on the Engliſh, who might eaſily, by the influence they ſo largely exerciſe, have prevented ſuch unnatural conduct. This ſtep," he ſaid, "muſt DESTROY ALL CONFIDENCE in the Engliſh nation throughout Hindoſtan, and excite the bittereſt reſentment in all thoſe who by blood are connected with the houſe of

of Sufdar Jung. If," ſaid this generous muſſulman, "the vizier can ſo little regard his honor or his duty, as to wiſh to diſgrace his father's mother for a ſum of money, let him plunder her of all ſhe has, and ſend her ſafe to Dehli or Agra; and, poor as I am, I will furniſh ſubſiſtence for her, which ſhe ſhall poſſeſs with ſecurity, though it cannot be adequate to her rank." As to the ENQUIRY enjoined by the court of directors, Mr. Haſtings poſitively refuſed compliance, alleging "that it was in effect an order for the juſtification and acquittal of the Begums; and that it would be productive of evils greater than any which exiſt in the conſequences which have already taken place, and which time had almoſt obliterated. "Let us," ſaid the governor in his minute of council, "at leaſt permit them to be judges of their own feelings, and prefer their complaints before we offer to redreſs them. The MAJESTY OF JUSTICE ought to be approached with ſolicitation, not to deſcend to provoke or invite it." And wrapped in the veil of conſcious innocence, he declares with calm and intrepid countenance, "that whatever may happen of the events which he dreads, he had at leaſt this conſolation remaining, that, in the annals of the natives of India, HE ſhall not be remembered amongſt their oppreſſors."

His

His general ſyſtem of policy muſt therefore be preſumed in his own opinion right; yet in his diſpatch of April 30, 1784, he paſſes the ſevereſt and moſt unequivocal cenſure upon it, by recommending to the court of directors, "as his laſt and ultimate hope, that their wiſdom would put a final period to the ruinous and diſreputable ſyſtem of INTERFERENCE, whether avowed or ſecret." And he heſitates not to aſſert in his ſubſequent diſpatch of October, 1784, a very ſhort time before his departure from India, and which may therefore be regarded as a ſort of dying confeſſion extorted by the reſiſtleſs force of truth, "that to no other purpoſes than thoſe of VENGEANCE and CORRUPTION will agents armed with authority exerciſe their powers."

The affairs of Oude cannot with propriety be diſmiſſed, without tranſiently noticing the caſe of the province of Ferruckabad, a territory, like Benares, depending upon the vizieriate. Ahmed Khan, late nabob of Ferruckabad, in the war between the vizier and the Company, had, as well as Bulwant Sing, ſhewed a marked and too partial predilection for the Engliſh intereſt. After the commencement of the ſyſtem of peace, alliance, and *ſubſidy*, the tribute due to the vizier from this province was aſſigned over to the Engliſh in part of payment; and a *ſezawall*, i. e. a ſe-

a ſequeſtrator, appointed by the vizier, at the inſtance of the Engliſh government, in order to enforce the collection; which, in conſequence of this arrangement, was paid, not to the nabob, but to the Engliſh reſident at Oude. The effects of this plan ſoon became viſible.

In the month of May, 1780, Mr. Haſtings ſtated to the board at Calcutta the condition of the province in the following terms:—"To the total want of all order, regulation, or authority in this government, it may, among many other obvious cauſes, no doubt be owing, that the country of Ferruckabad is become an almoſt entire waſte, without cultivation or inhabitants; that the capital, which but a very ſhort time ago was diſtinguiſhed as one of the moſt populous and opulent commercial cities in Hindoſtan, at preſent exhibits nothing but ſcenes of the moſt wretched deſolation and miſery—the nabob himſelf ſcarcely commanding the means of bare ſubſiſtence." On account of the hardſhips and indignities to which the nabob was ſubjected by the conduct of the ſezawall, and of which he had preferred frequent complaints, Mr. Haſtings propoſed the removal of the ſequeſtrator, and the appointment of an Engliſh reſident in his room, declaring "that a LOCAL INTERFERENCE was indiſpenſably neceſſary for realizing the vizier's juſt demands." But by an article of the treaty

of

of Chunar, in the following year, it was ſtipulated that the Engliſh reſident be recalled. And in excuſe of his conduct, Mr. Haſtings declared to the board of council, "that if the nabob of Ferruckabad, Muzuffer Jung, *muſt* endure oppreſſion, and he DARE NOT at this time propoſe his total relief, it concerns the reputation of our government to remove *our* participation in it." As to theſe oppreſſions, however, he on another occaſion unaccountably aſſerted, that "whether they were well or ill founded, he never had an *opportunity* to aſcertain."

The ſezawall being thus reinſtated, the country was again ſubjected to the moſt ſhocking ravages, inſomuch that Mr. Haſtings himſelf, of his own authority, ordered the collector to be removed, and the territory of Ferruckabad to be left to the ſole management of its natural prince. But of this *ſingular* act of goodneſs Mr. Haſtings afterwards complained, "that the reſident of the nabob Muzuffer Jung at Calcutta had the inſolence to report that it was PURCHASED." He therefore formally withdrew his protection, and the ſezawall was a third time reappointed to his former office. "This was attended," to adopt the words of the governor-general, "with an aggravated renewal of the ſeverities formerly exerciſed;" and the prince himſelf, in a letter addreſſed to Mr. Haſtings, ſays:

ſays: "The miſeries which have fallen upon my country, and the poverty and diſtreſs which have been heaped upon me by the re-appointment of the ſezawall, are ſuch that a relation of them would, I am convinced, excite the ſtrongeſt feelings of compaſſion in your breaſt; but it is impoſſible to relate them. On the one ſide, my country ruined and uncultivated to a degree of deſolation which exceeds all deſcription: on the other, my domeſtic concerns and connections involved in ſuch a ſtate of diſtreſs and horror, that even the relations, the children and wives of my father are ſtarving in want of daily bread, and are on the point of flying voluntary exiles from the country, and from each other." This letter, written in February 1783, Mr. Haſtings did not lay before the board till October following, being, as he then aſſerted, withheld from cauſes not neceſſary to mention.

He now, however, thought it once more incumbent upon him to propoſe the removal of the ſezawall, and the re-appointment of a Britiſh reſident at Ferruckabad. But the end and purpoſe of this appointment were completely fruſtrated by a ſubſequent letter, rendering him liable to diſmiſſion at the pleaſure of the vizier. And the reſident Willes, a man of acknowledged probity, declared, in his letter of the 24th of April 1785, "that the ſituation of the country was

more diſtreſsful than when the nabob addreſſed himſelf for relief in 1783; and that he was ſorry to ſay that his appointment at Ferruckabad was of no uſe.—Ferruckabad," ſays he, "once the ſeat of great opulence and trade, is now daily deſerted by its inhabitants—its walls mouldering away, without police, without protection. The ruin that has overtaken this country is not to be wondered at, when it is conſidered that there has been no ſtate, no ſtable government for many years,—no authority ſufficiently predominant to eſtabliſh any regulations for the benefit of the country, whilſt each authority has been exerted, as opportunity offered, for temporary purpoſes.

SUCH was the ſtate of things in the vizieriate of Oude and its dependencies, when Mr. Haſtings reſigned the government of India in the ſpring of the year 1785. "If," exclaimed on a very memorable occaſion a juſtly celebrated parliamentary orator*, "a ſtranger had at this time gone into the kingdom of Oude, ignorant of what had happened ſince the death of Sujah ul Dowla, that man, who with a ſavage heart had ſtill great lines of character, and who, with all his ferocity in war, had with a cultivating hand preſerved to his country the riches which it derived from benignant ſkies and a prolific ſoil—if this ſtranger, ignorant of all that had happened

* Vide Sheridan's Speech in Weſtminſter Hall, June 1788.

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in the ſhort interval, and obſerving the wide and general devaſtation, and all the horrors of the ſcene—vegetation burnt up and extinguiſhed, villages depopulated and in ruin, temples unroofed and periſhing, reſervoirs broken down and dry—he would naturally enquire, What war has thus laid waſte the fertile fields of this once beautiful and opulent country? What civil diſſenſions have happened, thus to tear aſunder and ſeparate the happy ſocieties that once poſſeſſed thoſe villages? What diſputed ſucceſſion? What religious rage has with unholy violence demoliſhed thoſe temples, and diſturbed fervent but unobtruding piety in the exerciſe of its duties? What mercileſs enemy has thus ſpread the horrors of fire and ſword? What ſevere viſitation of Providence has thus dried up the fountains and taken every veſtige of verdure from the earth? Or rather, What monſters have ſtalked over the country, tainting and poiſoning with peſtiferous breath what the voracious appetite could not devour?—To ſuch queſtions what muſt be the anſwer? No wars have ravaged theſe lands and depopulated theſe villages—no civil diſcords have been felt—no diſputed ſucceſſion—no religious rage—no mercileſs enemy—no affliction of Providence, which, while it ſcourged for the moment, cut off the ſources of reſuſcitation—no voracious and poiſoning monſters—no; all

all this has been accompliſhed by the friendſhip, generoſity, and kindneſs of the Engliſh nation —They have embraced us with their protecting arms, and, lo! THESE are the FRUITS of their ALLIANCE."

Previous, however, to the bliſsful æra of the final departure of Mr. Haſtings from India, various other incidents of importance took place; to which, in order to complete the picture of his ever-memorable adminiſtration, it is now neceſſary to advert.—It muſt be called to recollection, that, after the conqueſt of Rohilcund by the nabob vizier Sujah ul Dowla, aſſiſted by the arms of Britain, Fyzoola Khan was confirmed in the government of Rampore and its dependencies by the treaty of Lall-Dang. Conformably to the proviſions of this treaty, Fyzoola Khan was permitted to retain in his ſervice 5000 troops, and not a ſingle man more. Alſo, with whomſoever the vizier ſhould make war, it was ſtipulated, that Fyzoola Khan ſhould ſend 2 or 3000 men, according to his ability, to join the forces of the vizier;—and that, if the vizier ſhould march in perſon, Fyzoola Khan ſhould himſelf accompany him with his troops. Fyzoola Khan is deſcribed, by the reſident Middleton, as "a man of ſenſe, not poſſeſſed with the paſſion of ambition, but applying himſelf peaceably to the improvement of his country, which increaſed greatly in riches and

and revenue." The population alſo of Rampore had in a few years nearly doubled in conſequence of its becoming an aſylum for the oppreſſed peaſants who fled from the adjoining territories of Oude. But peace and proſperity ſeemed, in the view of Mr. Haſtings, to conſtitute the moſt unpardonable ſpecies of delinquency: and it has been remarked of him, that his favorite and habitual maxim of policy was, "*that where there is treaſure there is treaſon.*"

In the years 1777 and 1778, being greatly alarmed at the reſumption of a number of jaghires by the young vizier, and the general oppreſſion prevailing in the government of Oude, Fyzoola Khan made repeated and earneſt applications to the Company for a renewal of his treaty with the vizier—originally atteſted by colonel Champion—under the guarantee of the Company, as the only power in which he had confidence, and to which he could look up for protection. This was at length granted with the concurrence of the vizier, to whom, as well as to the Company, preſents were made on the occaſion; "ſuch as became the gratitude of one party to offer, and the dignity of the other to receive."

On the breaking out of the war between England and France, Fyzoola Khan voluntarily offered to maintain 2000 cavalry for the ſervice of

the Company; for which Mr. Haſtings, in the name of the Supreme Council, returned him the warmeſt thanks, and acknowledged his claim on the generoſity no leſs than the juſtice of the Britiſh government. But, in the courſe of the following year, Mr. Haſtings ſuggeſted to the vizier to make a requiſition of 5000 cavalry from the rajah of Rampore; although, according to the moſt rigid conſtruction of the treaty, he was bound to contribute this quota only when the vizier took the field in perſon. He repreſented therefore, in reſpectful terms, "his inability to comply with this demand—that the whole force allowed him was only 5000 men, of whom 3000 were infantry—the aid of whom was neceſſary for the concerns of his jaghire." On this Mr. Haſtings paſſed a reſolve in council, himſelf and Mr. Wheeler being the only remaining members, importing, "that the nabob Fyzoola Khan had evaded the performance of the treaty with the late vizier Sujah ul Dowla, to which the *Honorable Company* were guarantees, as to the troops which he is obliged to furniſh on the condition by which he holds the jaghire granted to him." And in a letter to the vizier Mr. Haſtings ſays, "Demand *immediate delivery* of 3000 cavalry;" and if he ſhould evade or refuſe compliance, he adviſes to make a formal proteſt againſt him for breach of treaty.

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It being already aſcertained that Fyzoola Khan had but 2000 cavalry in his ſervice, the court of directors, in their ſubſequent diſpatch, heſitated not to declare, "that the ſaid demand carried with it the appearance of a determination to create a pretext for depriving him of his jaghire entirely, or to leave him at the mercy of the vizier." This demand, however, being peremptorily made, Fyzoola Khan offered, in addition to his 2000 cavalry, a body of 1000 foot, with one year's pay in advance, and regular funds for their payment in future. But the agent, Johnſon, deputed on this buſineſs, informed him that his orders were, not to receive any palliation, but a negative or affirmative. In conſequence of this refuſal of an impracticable demand, the vizier propoſed to Mr. Haſtings "to reſume the grant, and to leave Fyzoola Khan to join his other faithleſs brethren who were ſent acroſs the Ganges."

By the third article of the treaty of Chunar, permiſſion was accordingly given to the vizier, "when time ſhall ſuit, to reſume the ſaid grant," —although, in the council minute juſtificatory of this act, the conduct of Fyzoola Khan is expreſsly ſaid "not to amount to an abſolute breach of treaty, but to be uncandid, evaſive, and unfriendly." The time, however, not being as yet judged *ſuitable*, an intimation was

given to the nabob that, in lieu of his military ſervices and other claims of the vizier and Company, a commutation in money, conſiſting of a tribute and fines, would be more acceptable—the former being fixed at 20, the latter at 30 lacks. The nabob, in reply, declared, through his vakeel at Lucknow, "that it clearly appears to be intended to deprive him of his country; as the high demand now made it would be impoſſible for him to comply with. To a chief thus deprived, the *Honorable Company* had been accuſtomed to grant ſome allowance. This he expected from the governor's bounty; but if he ſhould be diſappointed, he would ſet off upon a pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina, and renounce the cares of the world. He directs his vakeel to aſcertain whether the Engliſh intended to deprive him of his country; for, if they do, he is ready to reſign it upon receiving an order from the reſident."

The real views of the governor in this inſtance extended, however, no farther than the extortion of money; and his adamantine heart being alſo, perhaps, a little ſoftened by the extreme humility of this declaration, an agreement was at length made to free the nabob from all obligations of military ſervice, in conſideration of the annual tribute of 15 lacks, which Mr. Haſtings confeſſed "to be an ample equivalent for the pre-

precarious claims of the vizier." And being now in the humour to make extraordinary conceſſions, the governor farther declared, "that the rumors which had been ſpread of the nabob's hoſtile deſigns againſt the vizier were totally groundleſs—and if he had been *inclined*, he had not the *means* to make himſelf formidable. On the contrary, being in the decline of life, and poſſeſſing a very fertile and proſperous jaghire, it is more natural to ſuppoſe that Fyzoola Khan wiſhes to ſpend the remainder of his days in quietneſs, than that he is preparing to embark in active and offenſive ſcenes, which muſt end in his own deſtruction." This is the more remarkable, as Mr. Haſtings, in reply to ſome ſevere animadverſions of the court of directors on his conduct reſpecting Fyzoola Khan, had held a language totally contrary. The directors having expreſſed their wiſhes to be conſidered "rather as the guardians of the honor and property of the native powers, than as the inſtruments of their oppreſſion;" Mr. Haſtings concluded his vindication of the whole of theſe tyrannical proceedings in the following inſolent words: "SUCH are the meaſures which we ſhall ever wiſh to obſerve towards our allies or dependents on the frontiers."

It muſt not be wholly omitted, though the vaſt field of inveſtigation and diſcuſſion to which

it leads can, in the *proſpectus* of general hiſtory, be viewed only in remote and obſcure viſion, "that on the departure of Mr. Francis from India early in 1781, Mr. Haſtings, upon whom the entire powers of government devolved, immediately diſſolved the provincial councils, and eſtabliſhed a COMMITTEE of REVENUE, with powers in the higheſt degree deſpotic. The general renewal of leaſes coming under the conſideration of this Board, they determined, "that as to the period of the leaſes, it appeared beſt to the committee to limit them to one year." In this reſpect the Committee of Revenue were leſs lenient than the preceding famous Committee of Circuit; and they acted in direct contradiction to the former opinion of Mr. Haſtings, ſolemnly declared, "that the farmer, i. e. the government leſſee, who holds his farm for one year only, having no intereſt in the next, takes what he can with the hand of rigor—he will be tempted to exceed the bounds of right, and to augment his income by irregular exactions, and by racking the tenants, for which pretences will not be wanting where the farms paſs annually from one hand to another. On the contrary, from long leaſes the farmer acquires a permanent intereſt in his lands—he will, for his own ſake, lay out money in aſſiſting his tenants, in improving lands already cultivated, and in clearing

clearing and cultivating waſte lands." All the evils ſo clearly foreſeen and ſo little regarded by Mr. Haſtings, added to thoſe ariſing from the vileſt and groſſeſt corruption and peculation, took place under this ſyſtem: the chief adminiſtrator and manager of which was one Govind Sing, a wretch loaded, as Mr. Haſtings himſelf acknowledged, with reproaches; and of whom it ſtands upon record, "that there was ſcarcely a family of rank in the three provinces whom he had not, ſome time or another, diſtreſſed and afflicted—ſcarce a zemindary that he had not diſmembered and plundered."

During the long adminiſtration of Mr. Haſtings, various momentous incidents occurred in the ſubordinate governments or departments of government in India; but of theſe a curſory mention muſt ſuffice. Mahomed Ali Khan, nabob of Arcot, had, by means too obvious to need explanation, acquired an unbounded influence over the counſels of the government of Madras. This corrupt influence, manifeſted by the exiſtence of an immenſe debt, evidently fictitious, but acknowledged by the nabob as due to the members of the Engliſh preſidency, was uſed to purpoſes of the moſt dreadful oppreſſion. The native princes were expelled; the merchants, bankers, and manufacturers diſappeared; and ſterility, indigence, and depopu-

lation overſpread the face of the Carnatic. The court of directors had indeed from time to time interpoſed their feeble authority to repreſs theſe enormities. They had even ventured to iſſue their expreſs orders, "that the native chieftains, called Polygars, ſhould not be *extirpated*;" and they intimate their fears "that their *rebellion* may with too much juſtice be attributed to the mal-adminiſtration of the nabob's collectors." They affirm "that the diſtreſſes occaſioned by the wars in which the country has been involved were certainly great, but thoſe cauſed by the nabob's oppreſſions they believe to be greater than all, becauſe his oppreſſions are without intermiſſion, the others are temporary." Supported by the aid and authority of that preſidency, under the expreſs ſanction of the governor and council of Bengal, the nabob, on frivolous pretences, declared war againſt the rajah of Tanjore, a neighbouring prince and antient ally of the Company; and, ſeizing his dominions, annexed them to his own territory. The court of directors, highly indignant at this unjuſt and violent uſurpation, determined upon the reſtoration of the rajah: and for this purpoſe lord Pigot, a nobleman who had formerly been employed in the Indian ſervice, and whoſe character, both in a civil and military capacity, ſtood deſervedly high, was appointed to the government, with poſitive orders

to

to that effect. The proceedings of the governor and council of Madras are thus ſeverely ſtigmatiſed in the inſtructions of the court of directors to lord Pigot, dated April 12, 1775: "As the ſolemn promiſe by our governor and council, at the requeſt of the nabob of the Carnatic and the king (i. e. rajah) of Tanjore, to guarantie the treaty of 1762, has been fully approved by the court of directors, we cannot but conſider the public faith of the Company as forfeited, and the honor of the Britiſh nation deeply affected, by the meaſures taken for dethroning that unhappy prince, whoſe kingdom has been wreſted from him by our ſervants, and put under the government of Mahomed Ali Khan, in direct violation of that treaty, and contrary to our repeated orders and inſtructions, which have uniformly and expreſsly prohibited them from attempting to enlarge our own or the nabob's dominions."—His lordſhip arrived at Madras the latter end of the year 1775; and, notwithſtanding all the oppoſition and the temptation thrown in his way, he accompliſhed the grand object of his appointment, in the re-inſtatement of the rajah. Diſputes running extremely high in the council in conſequence of this meaſure, the governor, in the autumn of 1776, ſuſpended two of the members from their functions, by a doubtful and dangerous aſſumption of authority.

But

But ample revenge was ſoon after taken by the remaining mal-contents, in the arreſt and impriſonment of his lordſhip, who ſurvived this daring outrage but a very ſhort time.

In the ſeſſion of parliament which began November 1778, admiral Pigot, brother to lord Pigot, brought this affair in all its circumſtances before the houſe of commons; and after ſtating, in a ſeries of reſolutions, the principal facts relative to this cataſtrophe, he concluded with moving an addreſs to his majeſty, "humbly praying that George Stratton, eſquire, and the other members of the council of Madras, be proſecuted for ordering their governor and commander-in-chief to be arreſted, and confined under a military force—they being returned to England, and now within the juriſdiction of his majeſty's courts of Weſtminſter Hall."

Notwithſtanding the labored juſtification of Mr. Stratton, who was a member of the houſe, theſe reſolutions were unanimouſly carried. Theſe gentlemen, being in the ſequel tried and convicted in the court of King's Bench, were, to the amazement of the public, ſentenced only to pay a trifling fine—and the laws which they had ſet at defiance in India ſeemed to be put in execution againſt them only to excite their contempt in England.

In the laſt ſeſſion of 1781, of which the hiſtory has

has been in part related, the affairs of India again attracted the attention of parliament, in conſequence of a petition preſented to the houſe of commons from the governor and council at Calcutta, a ſecond from the Britiſh ſettlers, and a third from the native inhabitants of Bengal, againſt the Supreme Court of Judicature eſtabliſhed by the Regulating Act of 1773. The two former were drawn up in a very maſterly ſtyle, and demonſtrated, in a ſtriking manner, the temerity and folly of thoſe who could attempt to ingraft the laws and juridical maxims of England upon the antient uſages and immemorial inſtitutions of Hindoſtan. The petition of the natives is remarkable for its pathos and ſimplicity—"When," ſay the petitioners, "the ordinances of this court of judicature were iſſued, as they were all contrary to the cuſtoms, modes, uſages, and inſtitutions of this country, they occaſioned terror in us; and day by day, as the powers of this court became more eſtabliſhed, our ruin, uneaſineſs, diſhonor, and diſcredit, have accumulated. We are now driven to the laſt extremity. Several who poſſeſſed means and ability have baniſhed themſelves from the country; but we do not all of us poſſeſs the means of flight, nor have we power to abide the oppreſſion of this court. If, which GOD forbid! this our petition ſhould not be accepted, giving ourſelves up with reſigna-

reſignation to our fate, we will ſit down in expectation of death. After this, LET the ſoil of the country remain, and the court of juſtice—LET the court of juſtice remain upon the earth, or the earth cover it?"

On a motion by general Smith for referring theſe petitions to a committee, Mr. Boughton Rous took occaſion to contraſt the eſtabliſhed policy of antient Rome with that adopted by England: "In all ſubjection of territory contiguous to her own," ſaid this able ſpeaker, "Rome gave her own laws, if the people wiſhed to receive them; or ſhe allured them by immunities and honorable diſtinctions. Thus ſhe aſſimilated all the petty ſtates of Italy to her laws and manners, till the whole peninſula became one nation.—But in her diſtant conqueſts ſhe purſued a very different policy. In theſe ſhe was ſatisfied to hold the ſupreme government, to poſſeſs the revenues and military powers, leaving the inhabitants to conduct their internal police by their own native magiſtrates and laws; avoiding any inſult to the religion or prejudices of the vanquiſhed. Much better would it be for Britain to imitate, in this reſpect, the conduct of the antient Romans, than to perſiſt in raſh and injudicious attempts to impoſe the laws of England upon the natives of India."

Many of the judicial deciſions of the Supreme Court,

Court, as ſtated to the houſe, alſo wore the aſpect of the moſt flagrant violence and injuſtice*; and a general conviction ſeemed to be momentarily excited,

* Of theſe perhaps the moſt remarkable was the deciſion given by the chief-juſtice in the famous PATNA CAUSE. It had been the practice of the provincial courts eſtabliſhed under the Engliſh government, to refer queſtions of Mahomedan law to the cawzee and muftees—antient and known judicial officers under the former government. A cauſe of great importance reſpecting a diſputed property, referred, in the accuſtomed manner, by the council of Patna to the cawzee Sadhi and two muftees his aſſeſſors, being decided by them in a mode which approved itſelf to the public judgment as highly equitable and ſatisfactory, an *action of treſpaſs* was nevertheleſs brought in the Supreme Court againſt the cawzee and muftees by the loſing party. The action being admitted to lie, the cawzee was arreſted by warrant of the chief-juſtice, to the conſternation and aſtoniſhment of the inhabitants, in the public ſtreets of Patna, when returning to his habitation from the exerciſe of the duties of his office. The ſheriff having the execution of the writ was directed not to admit the cawzee or his aſſeſſors to bail under the enormous ſum of 400,000 rupees: and had it not been for the interpoſition of the Provincial Council, the defendants muſt have been dragged to Calcutta, at the diſtance of 500 miles, and have languiſhed in priſon till their doom was determined. "The ſeizure of the cawzee in this diſgraceful manner," ſay the Provincial Council of Patna, in their letter to the Supreme Council of Calcutta, "coming from the execution of his office, has ſtruck a general terror into the inhabitants of this city; we thought it therefore expedient, for the honor of government and the preſervation of its authority, to offer the bail required for the enlargement of one of its firſt officers.—How can we expect," ſay they, "the officers of theſe courts to carry any orders of conſequence into execution,

excited, of the radical abſurdity and erroneouſneſs of the preſent ſyſtem. Nevertheleſs, the weight of regal influence, ever jealous and abhorrent

execution, till they are aſſured of ſafety and protection in the diſcharge of their duty?"

The circumſtances of cruelty and atrocity attending this buſineſs are fully detailed in the ſecond article of impeachment exhibited againſt ſir Elijah Impey, in the houſe of commons, December 12, 1787, by ſir Gilbert Elliot. In the ſequel, the deciſion of the cawzee was, upon grounds the moſt ſcandalouſly frivolous and futile, reverſed by the Supreme Court; and the cawzee and muftees condemned to pay damages and coſts to the amount of 300,000 rupees, which was in effect a ſentence of perpetual impriſonment. The cawzee Sadhi, being aged and infirm, in a ſhort time ſunk under the weight of this perſecution; the other defendants remaining in priſon upwards of two years, till they were ſet at liberty by expreſs orders from England, commanding not only their releaſe, but the reſtoration of the muftees to the offices they had before occupied with fair and unſullied characters.

As a ſpecimen of the evidence on which the chief-juſtice's ſentence of reverſal was founded, a ſmall part of the examination of one Cojah Zekereah may be cited: ſir Elijah Impey declaring from the bench the teſtimony of this man to be conſiſtent and unimpeached. It was adduced to prove and eſtabliſh the authenticity of various ſignatures profeſſing to witneſs a certain deviſe or deed of conveyance, ſtyled, in the technical language of the Mahomedan courts, the *hebenamah*, on the validity of which the merits of the whole cauſe abſolutely depended.

Q. Who wrote the writing which is round the ſeals?

A. What is wrote about my own ſeal and that of Ghyrut Beg in the hebenamah, I remember writing myſelf; but the other three I do not remember writing. I am ſure that the above

horrent of reform in every ſhape,—the natural partiality of the miniſter to his own original plans,—and the preſſure of affairs ſtill more urgent,

above ſeal of Mazum Beg is not mine—that around Ullah is not my writing.

Q. You muſt know your hand-writing—anſwer, Is it your hand-writing, YES or NO?

A. It is not.—It is not in my *memory* that it is. I do not *remember* it, if it is my hand-writing.—IT MAY BE SO.

Q. You muſt know your hand-writing—you need not look at it ſo frequently.

A. If it *is*, it may be I do not *recollect it*. If it may be, it may be I do not *recollect it*. IT IS CERTAINLY MY HAND-WRITING.

Q. Now you have ſworn it is your hand-writing, and that it is not—which is true? One or the other of them muſt be true.

A. IT IS MY HAND-WRITING.

Q. You did not ſee Mahomed Iwaz write Ullah; therefore, why did you write *under it?*

A. I remember that when Ghyrut Beg affixed his ſeal, as he could not write, the deceaſed, Shawbaz Beg Khan, deſired me to write over it; and having procured Iwaz to write in my abſence Ullah, he deſired me to write Ullah.

Q. You have ſaid, I think, that you never ſaw the hebenamah after your own ſeal was put to it, and till after the death of Shawbaz Beg Khan; and that when you did put your ſeal to it, the other ſeals were not put to it, nor the ſignature Ullah: How came you now then to ſay, that, after the ſeal of Ghyrut Beg was put to it, and the ſignature Ullah, that Shawbaz Beg Khan deſired you to write upon the hebenamah?

A. It is true, that when he deſired me to put my ſeal to it, there was no other ſeal than his. But about the ſame time, or a day after, when the other witneſſes witneſſed it, I was by,

gent, prevented the adoption of any great or decisive measures of relief. From the contracted genius and policy of the existing administration, nothing great, decisive, or comprehensively beneficial, could indeed be expected. A bill was, however, introduced and passed, explana-

by, and he desired me to witness it. I was *always* present with Shawbaz Beg Khan.

Q. Were you by when Mahomed Iwaz wrote the word Ullah?

A. I was not present then. When Imayet Ullah Beg and Ghyrut Beg put their seals to it, I was present.

Q. Why—if you did write under the word Ullah, as you now say you did—why did you not immediately say that you did write under it?

A. I was in doubt about my own hand-writing; and, having sworn, I was cautious in acknowledging it.

Q. What did you mean by saying that you never saw the paper after you had put your seal to it till after the death of Shawbaz Beg Khan, if Shawbaz Beg Khan did in fact produce it to you to write upon it at any time after you had put your seal to it?

A. It is not a contradiction. After all the seals were put to it, after that time, I meant to say, I never saw it till after the death of Shawbaz Beg Khan.

Q. Is all the writing over the seals of your hand-writing?

A. The LAST is not my hand-writing.

Q. Look to it, and be sure.

A. This *is* also my hand-writing.

Q. Why did you say it was not your hand-writing when it is?

A. I did not *remember* writing it: but on seeing it is the same flow of the pen, I acknowledge it to be my hand-writing.

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tory of the powers of the Supreme Court of Judicature, and in ſome points limiting and reſtraining its juriſdiction, which had been extended, by the arbitrary encroachments of the chief-juſtice, far beyond the real and obvious intent of the Regulating Act *.

At this period the war in India had become very general; a moſt formidable combination of the country powers in oppoſition to the Engliſh

* It may perhaps be permitted here tranſiently to note, as a pleaſing inſtance of national generoſity, however hiſtorically unimportant, a bill brought into the houſe of peers in the courſe of the ſeſſion, after having paſſed the commons, "for allowing a certain ſum to the two univerſities, as an indemnification for the excluſive right of printing almanacks, granted to them by patent of king James I. but of which they had been recently diveſted by a deciſion of the courts at Weſtminſter." This was violently oppoſed by the lord-chancellor Thurlow, as a fruitleſs and ſcandalous waſte of the public money. It being alleged, and evidence adduced to prove, that the profits of the patent had been applied by theſe learned bodies to the printing of ſcarce and valuable MSS, particularly many in the Arabic and other Oriental languages, which would otherwiſe never have been communicated to the world, the chancellor avowed, in terms which would have aſtoniſhed a Talbot or a Hardwick, his utter contempt of *Perſian* and *Coptic literature*. He ſaid, that, when *he* was at the univerſity, he never ſpent his time in the ſtudy of ſuch curious trifles: and they muſt be much more profound than he affected to be, who could either be pleaſed with or comprehend them." Happily the houſe of peers held the claims of literature in ſomewhat higher reſpect than the nobleman who preſided in that illuſtrious aſſembly, and the bill paſſed with general and decided approbation.

had taken place, which, affifted by the fleets and armies of France, ſeemed to menace the very exiſtence of the empire of Britain in India. Hyder Ally, the antient and inveterate enemy of the Company, in the month of July 1780, broke into the Carnatic with a vaſt army, and committed the moſt dreadful ravages. This ſanguinary deſpot and conqueror, to adopt the high-wrought deſcription of a celebrated orator, "finding that he had to do with men whom no treaty could bind, reſolved, in the gloomy receſſes of a mind capacious of ſuch things, to leave the whole Carnatic an everlaſting monument of vengeance, and to put perpetual deſolation as a barrier between him and thoſe againſt whom the faith which holds the moral elements of the world together was no protection. Having terminated his diſputes with every enemy and every rival, burying their mutual animoſities in their common deteſtation, and compounding all the materials of fury, havoc, and deſolation into one black cloud, he hung for a while on the declivities of the mountains. Whilſt the authors of all theſe evils were idly and ſtupidly gazing on this menacing meteor which blackened all their horizon, it ſuddenly burſt and poured down the whole of its contents upon the plains of the Carnatic. Then enſued a ſcene of woe which no eye had ſeen, no heart conceived, and

which

which no tongue can adequately tell. All the horrors of war before known or heard of were mercy to that new havoc. A ſtorm of univerſal fire blaſted every field, conſumed every houſe, deſtroyed every temple. The miſerable inhabitants, flying from their flaming villages, in part were ſlaughtered. Others, without regard to ſex, to age, to the reſpect of rank, or ſacredneſs of function, enveloped in a whirlwind of cavalry, were ſwept into captivity in an unknown and hoſtile land. One dead uniform ſilence reigned over the whole region. This hurricane of war paſſed through every part of the central provinces of the Carnatic *."

On the 10th September (1780) Hyder Ally attacked and ſurrounded a conſiderable detached corps under colonel Baillie, which, after very great but unavailing efforts of valor, were entirely cut to pieces or made priſoners. He then aſſailed with his victorious army, and rendered himſelf maſter of Arcot; and ſcarcely did the government at Madras believe itſelf to be in ſafety, when ſir Eyre Coote arrived to take the command of the Company's forces on the coaſt of Coromandel, and Hyder was in repeated engagements foiled and defeated by this fortunate and gallant veteran.

Various naval encounters alſo took place be-

* Mr. Burke's ſpeech on the affairs of Africa.

tween the French and Engliſh fleets, commanded by M. Suffrein and admiral ſir Edward Hughes, with equal ſkill, courage, and ſucceſs. The naval force of both nations was gradually increaſed, in the progreſs of the war, to a degree far beyond what had been known at any former period in India, amounting at the laſt, on the part of the Britiſh, to eighteen ſhips of the line of battle. But the proportion continuing nearly the ſame, the mutual acceſſions of ſtrength ſerved only to increaſe the number of human victims: and the ſucceſſive battles being obſtinately and even heroically conteſted, the blood ſhed in this unavailing conteſt was uncommonly great.

To enter into the detail of ſuch tranſactions can anſwer no valuable purpoſe, except it be to exhibit the miſeries of war in their genuine colours, diveſted of that faſcination which accompanies the idea of victory, though attended perhaps to the victors themſelves with no ſolid advantage, to the vanquiſhed with all the horrors of diſtreſs and ruin. Doubtleſs, in every region of the world wiſdom and humanity exiſt more than ſufficient, could they be brought into action, to remedy theſe fatal and inexpreſſible follies; but it is melancholy to reflect how ſmall a portion of either falls to the lot of the generality of thoſe by whom the affairs of the world are conducted; and how remote, and on a tranſient ſur-

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very almoſt hopeleſs, is the proſpect of any eſſential amelioration in the ſyſtem of human policy *.

A ſecret committee having been appointed in the year 1781, to enquire into the cauſes of the

* "Voici," ſays the celebrated monarch of Pruſſia, "l'erreur de la plupart des PRINCES," i. e. of the men ſtyled, in the vocabulary of human folly, Moſt Serene, Moſt Gracious, and Moſt Sacred Sovereigns! "Ils croient que Dieu a creé exprès et par une attention toute particulière pour leur grandeur, leur félicité, et leur orgueil, cette multitude d'hommes dont le ſalut leur eſt commis; et que leurs ſujets ne ſont deſtinés qu'à être les inſtrumens et les miniſtres de leurs paſſions déréglés. Dès que le principe dont on part eſt faux, les conſéquences ne peuvent être que vicieuſes à l'infini: et de là ce déſir ardent de tout envahir, de là la dureté des impôts dont le peuple eſt chargé, de là la pareſſe des princes, leur orgueil, leur injuſtice, leur inhumanité, leur tyrannie, et tous ces vices qui dégradent la nature humaine. Si les princes ſe défaiſoient de ces idées erronées, et qu'ils vouluſſent remonter juſqu'au but de leur inſtitution, ils verroient que ce rang dont ils ſont ſi jaloux, que leur élévation n'eſt que L'OUVRAGE DES PEUPLES.—Ce principe ainſi établi, il faudroit qu'ils ſentiſſent que la vraie gloire des princes ne conſiſte point à opprimer leurs voiſins, point à augmenter le nombre de leurs eſclaves, mais à remplir les devoirs de leurs charges, et à répondre en tout à l'intention de ceux qui les ont revêtus de leur pouvoir, *et de qui ils* TIENNENT *la* GRANDEUR SUPREME †." Such is the ingenuous and noble confeſſion of the royal hiſtorian and philoſopher, and ſuch the language which it is impoſſible not to applaud as the effuſion of a magnanimous and enlightened patriotiſm.

† ŒUVRES de FREDERIC III. tome iv.

Mahratta war and that in the Carnatic, a very able report was brought up early in the ſeſſion of 1782, by the lord-advocate of Scotland, Mr. Dundas, chairman of the committee, in which the general ſyſtem of policy purſued by the governor-general Haſtings was reprobated in terms of extreme ſeverity. Mr. Dundas in the courſe of his ſpeech ſaid, "that the governor had no right whatever to fancy he was an Alexander or an Aurengzebe, and to prefer frantic military exploits to the improvement of the trade and commerce of the country."

Sir Thomas Rumbold alſo, who had recently relinquiſhed the government of Madras, was criminated as guilty of groſs peculation, embezzlement, and oppreſſion. General Smith, in moving that the report of the ſecret committee be referred to a committee of the houſe, took notice that ſir Elijah Impey, his majeſty's chief-juſtice in India, had ſo far degraded his character and office as to accept of a place under the Company, contrary to the ſolemn engagements under which he held his appointment*.

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* The place thus accepted by ſir Elijah Impey was that of judge of a Court of Appeal, eſtabliſhed at Calcutta under the appellation of the Court of Sudder Dewannee Adawlet, whoſe juriſdiction extended over the inferior provincial courts of Mofuſſell Dewannee Adawlet. To this office, held at

An addreſs was in conſequence preſented to the king, to beſeech his majeſty to recall ſir Elijah Impey from India to anſwer for his conduct. A bill was likewiſe brought in by the lord-advocate, Mr. Dundas, for inflicting certain pains and penalties on ſir Thomas Rumbold, for high crimes and miſdemeanors. This bill, which at firſt excited very great expectation and attention, and which was continued from ſeſſion to ſeſſion in a manner wholly unprecedented, was at laſt ſuffered to ſink in neglect and oblivion.

On the 28th of May, 1782, the houſe of commons paſſed a ſeries of reſolutions, in the moſt deciſive terms condemnatory of the whole ſyſtem of Indian politics. The laſt reſolution imported, "That Warren Haſtings, eſq. governor-general in Bengal, and William Hornby, eſq. preſident of the council at Bombay, having in ſundry inſtances acted in a manner repugnant to the honor and policy of this nation, and thereby brought great calamities on India, and enormous expences on the Eaſt-India Company, it is the duty of the directors of the ſaid Company to purſue all legal and effectual means for the removal of the ſaid governor-general and preſident from their ſaid

at the pleaſure of the governor and council, with a ſalary of 8000*l.* per annum, ſir Elijah Impey was advanced a few months previous to his memorable expedition to Benares and Oude.

offices, and to recall them to Great-Britain." But this reſolution, though confirmed by the court of directors *, the proprietary refuſed to ratify; and the houſe of commons, with the characteriſtic indeciſion and inconſtancy of a popular aſſembly, took no ſubſequent meaſures to enforce it †.

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* The RESOLUTION of the court of directors, paſſed October 1782, was expreſſed in the following terms:—"RESOLVED, that it is the opinion of this court, that a ſteady perſeverance in the ſyſtem of conduct ſo frequently enjoined by the court of directors cannot be expected from thoſe ſervants whoſe ideas of extenſion of dominion, either by negotiation or conqueſt, have led them to depart from orders ſo often enforced; and THEREFORE, that it is expedient to remove Warren Haſtings, eſq. from the office of governor-general of Bengal."

† "About the proſperity of that great empire in the government of which every proprietor of India ſtock to a certain amount is entruſted with a ſhare," ſays the celebrated author of the Wealth of Nations (vol. iii. book 5.), "he ſeldom cares at all. No other ſovereigns ever were, or from the nature of things ever could be, ſo perfectly indifferent about the happineſs or miſery of their ſubjects, the improvement or waſte of their dominions, the glory or diſgrace of their adminiſtration, as from irreſiſtible moral cauſes the greater part of ſuch a mercantile company are and neceſſarily muſt be. ——By a ſtrange abſurdity (vol. ii. book 4.) they regard the character of the ſovereign but as an appendix to that of the merchant; as ſomething which ought to be made ſubſervient to it; or by means of which they may be enabled to buy cheaper in India, and thereby to ſell with a better profit in Europe. But if the genius of ſuch a government, even as to what

The war in India was ſtill carried on with various ſucceſs. The valuable ſettlements of Negapatnam on the Coromandel coaſt, and Trinquemale in the iſland of Ceylon, belonging to the Dutch, were captured by the Engliſh. On the other hand, colonel Braithwaite, with a detachment of the Company's troops, was totally

what concerns its direction in Europe, is in this manner eſſentially faulty, that of its adminiſtration in India is ſtill more ſo. A council of merchants can command obedience only by military force, and their government is therefore neceſſarily military and deſpotical. Their proper buſineſs, however, is that of merchants. It is to ſell upon their maſters' account the European goods conſigned to them, and to buy in return Indian goods for the European market. It is to ſell the one as dear and buy the other as cheap as poſſible; and conſequently to exclude as much as poſſible all rivality. The genius of the adminiſtration is therefore ſo far the ſame as that of the direction. It tends to make government ſubſervient to the intereſts of monopoly. All the members of adminiſtration, beſides, trade more or leſs upon their own account; and it is in vain to prohibit them from doing ſo. If by an order from Europe they cannot act openly and directly, they will employ the whole authority of government, and pervert the adminiſtration of juſtice, in order to haraſs and ruin thoſe who interfere with them in any branch of commerce which, by means of agents either concealed or at leaſt not publicly avowed, they may chooſe to carry on. It is a very ſingular government, in which every member of the adminiſtration wiſhes to get out of the country, and conſequently to have done with the government, as ſoon as he can; and to whoſe intereſt the day after he has left it, and carried his whole fortune with him, it is perfectly indifferent though the whole country were ſwallowed up by an earthquake."

routed

routed on the banks of the Coleroon by Tippoo Saib, ſon of Hyder Ally, aſſiſted by a body of French troops; after which Cuddalore ſurrendered to the victors.

The operations of the war on the Malabar coaſt were conducted by general Goddard with a great diſplay of military ſkill and ſpirit. Invading the province of Guzzerat, in the year 1780, he reduced the city of Amedabad, its capital; and on the ſecond of April he ſtormed the camp of the Mahrattas, commanded by Madajee Scindia, whom he totally defeated. Entering into a treaty with the Rana of Gohud, major Popham, by order of the general, attacked and carried, in the courſe of the ſummer, the ſtrong fortreſs of Gualior, which was garriſoned by the Mahrattas, though within the territory of the Rana.

Early in 1781 general Goddard ſat down before Baſſeen; and after reducing this important place, he deſiſted from farther active operations, in conſequence of the ſuccours he was under a neceſſity to ſend to ſir Eyre Coote. In the province of Malva, colonel Carnac ſurpriſed, April 30, the camp of the enemy, and Madajee Scindia was a ſecond time totally routed. After this the Mahratta chieftain made ſecret overtures for a ſeparate peace; and a ceſſation of hoſtilities between England and the Mahratta ſtates took

place

place in the month of October 1781. The definitive articles of peace were ſigned in May following, at Salberg, by Mr. Anderſon on the part of the Company, and by Scindia, general and plenipotentiary, on the part of the Peiſhwa. By this treaty Baſſeen and the other recent acquiſitions in the Guzzerat were reſtored to the Mahrattas, the iſland of Salſette only of the late conqueſts remaining to the Engliſh; for, at the *requeſt* of Madajee Scindia, the Engliſh conſented alſo to relinquiſh their claim to the city of Baroach and the contiguous diſtricts. Ragonaut Row was for ever abandoned, and compelled to quit the territories of the Company; and their ally, the Rana of Gohud, who appears indeed without ſcruple to have oppoſed duplicity to duplicity, was, under the pretext of "leaving him to ſettle his own affairs," virtually delivered up to the mercy of his enemies. —But the moſt extraordinary article of the treaty was that whereby the Peiſhwa engages that Hyder Ally Khan ſhall be made to relinquiſh, within ſix months, all ſuch territories belonging to the Company or their allies as he ſhall have taken poſſeſſion of ſince the 9th of the month Ramzan. The fact was, that not only a treaty of peace, but of the ſtricteſt alliance and friendſhip, was now formed by the governor-general Haſtings with the Mahratta court; and a ſecret

project

project was believed to be already in contemplation for the partition of Hyder's dominions. And thus, notwithstanding the ill success of his former schemes of conquest, no sooner was this "daring pilot" of the state, who "fought the storms" and invoked the tempests, obliged to relinquish one vast and hazardous plan of aggrandizement, than he entered with equal eagerness into another. The nizam of the Decan and the rajah of Berar were also parties in this accommodation, for their accession to which they received large pecuniary gratifications.

This pacification with the Mahrattas induced the presidency of Bengal to risk a bold attempt on the dominions of Hyder Ally on the Malabar side. The kingdoms of Canara and Mysore, both under subjection to that prince, stretch along the western coast of Hindostan, nearly in the latitude of Arcot. The chief city of the former is Bednore, a name changed by its present possessor to Hydernagore. A considerable force, already landed in the kingdom of Mysore, had relieved the city of Tellicherri, a post or factory on that coast belonging to the English, and reduced the neighbouring town of Calicut. It was with difficulty, nevertheless, that the English kept their footing in this country, when general Matthews arrived from Bombay with very large reinforcements, and immediately laid

siege

ſiege to the important fortreſs of Onore, which was carried by ſtorm on the 5th of January 1783. The carnage on this occaſion is ſaid to have been terrible; and the indiſcriminate ſeizure of treaſure, public and private, there depoſited, exhibited, in the moſt odious light, the rapacity and avarice of the commander.

At this period the hopes of the Engliſh were raiſed to the higheſt pitch by the death of Hyder Ally, a name ever memorable in the annals of India. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Tippoo Saib, who had already given proofs of valor and ability not unworthy his deſcent.

From Onore general Matthews proceeded through *the Ghauts*, or the paſſes of the mountains, to Hydernagore, which ſurrendered to him without reſiſtance. Here, as at Onore, the general was accuſed of combining the meanneſs of fraud with the ferocity of violence; and colonel Macleod, ſecond in command, and ſeveral other officers, retired in diſguſt from the army. After this, Annampore by ſtorm, Carwa and Mangalore by capitulation, were ſucceſſively ſubdued.

In the mean time Tippoo prepared for the relief of Myſore and Canara; and, leaving a ſtrong force to guard his conqueſts in the Carnatic, he marched his army acroſs the peninſula with unexpected and unexampled expedition, and arrived

rived in the vicinity of Hydernagore in the month of April 1783. By a ſeries of excellent military manœuvres he made himſelf maſter of the Ghauts in the rear of general Matthews, by which means all communication with the ſea was entirely cut off. The force of general Matthews being now centred in Hydernagore, this city was inveſted by Tippoo with a vaſt army, computed at 150,000 men, covering the hills on every ſide as far as the eye could reach. The Engliſh, reduced to extremity, were ſoon obliged to ſurrender on capitulation, by the terms of which the public treaſure was reſtored to the ſultan; but not a rupee being found in the fortreſs, general Matthews was charged by the conqueror with groſs collufion, and a direct infraction of the treaty; and being conducted in chains to Seringapatam, the capital of Myſore, he was thrown into a dungeon, and, with the greater part of his officers, periſhed miſerably in confinement under various devices of torture.

Notwithſtanding the departure of Tippoo from the Carnatic, the preſidency of Madras had ſtill to cope with ſuperior force. Although the utmoſt exertions of ſir Eyre Coote had not been wanting, no deciſive advantage had been gained in the laſt campaign with Hyder; and the ill ſtate of health of this able commander obliged

liged him to reſign the army into the hands of general Stuart, and to retire at the concluſion of the year 1783 to Bengal. Early in the enſuing ſpring, believing himſelf ſomewhat recovered, he returned to Madras in order to reſume his command; but two days only after his arrival he expired, in an advanced age, having acquired, in more than thirty years' military ſervice in India, a reputation, the luſtre of which could be deemed ſcarcely inferior to that of his predeceſſor lord Clive. The important ſettlement of Trinquemale was retaken by M. Suffrein in the courſe of the laſt ſummer, and a very large reinforcement of French troops landed in the Carnatic under M. de Buſſi. Notwithſtanding all oppoſition, general Stuart inveſted Cuddalore, and made conſiderable progreſs in the ſiege, when an expreſs arrived with the intelligence of a treaty of peace having been concluded between the belligerent powers, on which an immediate ceſſation of hoſtilities took place.

After the conqueſt of Hydernagore, and the re-capture of the inland country by Tippoo, he laid ſiege to Mangalore, the principal place yet remaining in the hands of the Engliſh. An obſtinate reſiſtance was made by the garriſon; but a practicable breach being at length effected, a general aſſault was in contemplation, when news arrived of the pacification which had taken

place

place in Europe; and the French troops and engineers in his ſervice informed him, that they muſt immediately withdraw their aſſiſtance. Tippoo, after much paſſionate expoſtulation, therefore aſſented to an armiſtice, in a few days after which event colonel Macleod arrived with powerful reinforcements from Bombay. A negotiation was immediately commenced for a definitive peace. This was accelerated by a declaration which the ſultan received from the peiſhwa of the Mahrattas, that if Tippoo did not conſent to an immediate evacuation of the Carnatic, he would unite with the Engliſh againſt him.

During the continuance of the truce and the negotiation, the *Bibby*, or princeſs of Cannanore, a diſtrict depending on the kingdom of Canara, having ſeized ſome boats with ſepoys belonging to the garriſon of Mangalore, accidentally forced by ſtreſs of weather on her coaſt, colonel Macleod attacked and ſtormed the fortreſs of Cannanore, making the princeſs herſelf priſoner. Although loud complaints were made by Tippoo of this violation of the armiſtice, it does not appear much to have retarded the negotiation, the articles of peace being ſigned at Mangalore March 11th, 1784, on the terms of mutual reſtitution, and a renunciation on the part of the ſultan of his claim to the ſovereignty

of

of the Carnatic. This claim, there is every reaſon to believe, would never have been enforced, or perhaps advanced, if the raſh and violent conduct of the Engliſh government reſpecting the Mahrattas had not encouraged and incited the attempt. To this purpoſe Mr. Whitehill, preſident of Madras, in his exculpatory minute of November 1780, ſays, "The offenſive line of conduct adopted againſt the Mahrattas threw them, i. e. the governor and council of Bengal, into a ſcene of action ſo extenſive and ſo full of difficulty, that neither their forces nor their revenues were capable of bearing them through with any poſſibility of ſucceſs. Had the experience of former times been called into their aid, they would have ſeen that Aurengzebe, one of the moſt formidable monarchs that ever ſat upon the throne of Dehli, was, after a twenty years' ſtruggle with all the power and riches of Hindoſtan, obliged to abandon a ſimilar attempt. The truth is, the Mahratta war has been the real ſource of all the miſchief that hath befallen the Carnatic. Had peace exiſted in that quarter with the Engliſh, Hyder Ally Khan would never have ventured from his own dominions.—He ſaw the extremity to which we were reduced, and ſeized the occaſion to diſtreſs us where he knew we were moſt vulnerable."

But the conduct of Mr. Haſtings, ſubſequent

to the reſtoration of peace in India, is perhaps the moſt extraordinary, certainly the moſt myſterious part of his dark and inextricable policy. The peace concluded with the Mahrattas, it has been already remarked, was followed by an alliance of the moſt ſtrict and confidential kind. And from that period it ſeemed to be the great and favorite object of the Engliſh governor-general to confirm and aggrandize the power of that ſtate, which he had ever before affected to conſider as moſt formidable and adverſe to the Engliſh intereſts, and whom he had even ſtyled "the NATURAL ENEMIES of the Company."

In the month of March 1783, Mr. Haſtings diſpatched, by no authentic act, but as his own ſecret agent, major Browne, to the court of Dehli, in order to make propoſals to the emperor, Sha Allum, to enter into engagements with the Company and the Mahratta government, for the accompliſhment of certain deſigns in favor of the emperor, but of a very hoſtile nature to ſeveral powers of the Continent then in amity with the Company. And major Browne was commiſſioned to offer to the Mogul, to provide for the entire expence of any troops the emperor might require; which propoſal was accepted with every ſymptom of eagerneſs and ſatisfaction. And the negotiation being ſufficiently advanced, Mr. Haſtings openly brought forward

forward a propoſition in council, October 5, 1783, to aſſiſt the Mogul with a military force: and at a ſubſequent meeting of the Board, he laid before them a letter from major Browne, dated Dehli, December 30, 1783, containing, amidſt much miſcellaneous matter, the following extraordinary paſſages:—"The buſineſs of aſſiſting the SHAH can and muſt now go on, if we wiſh to be ſecure in India, and regarded as a nation. We have offered, the Shah has accepted the offer of aſſiſtance.—We have annexed conditions, the Shah has approved of them."

The project thus unexpectedly and forcibly obtruded on the Board by Mr. Haſtings was, however, very ill received by his colleagues, Mr. Wheeler and Mr. Stables, who ſtrongly remonſtrated againſt involving the Company in new wars and dangerous foreign connections. But Mr. Haſtings was not a man to be diſcouraged by trivial obſtacles.

Early in the following year, 1784, Mr. Haſtings made a progreſs to the city of Lucknow, and there had an interview with the prince Mirza Jehander Shah, eldeſt ſon of the Mogul, and who, as the governor-general in his public letter ſays, "had long held the principal part in the adminiſtration of the king his father." From Mr. Haſtings's account of this interview, which he repreſents as wholly unexpected and

fortuitous, the prince having left the court of Dehli without even the knowledge of the emperor, it appears that urgent ſolicitations were made by the heir of the Mogul empire to the Engliſh governor, for aid and aſſiſtance to raiſe the KING, his father, from that ſtate of degradation and inſignificance into which he had fallen: intimating his readineſs even to go in perſon to England, to repreſent the diſtreſſes of the emperor of Hindoſtan, in the hope of obtaining relief. Mr. Haſtings, in reply, informed the prince, "that the Engliſh nation, juſt emerged from a ſtate of univerſal warfare, required repoſe, and would be alarmed at any movement of which it could not immediately ſee the iſſue or the progreſs, but which might eventually create new hoſtilities; that, as to himſelf, he could not engage, *if he choſe it*, in a buſineſs of this nature, without the concurrence of his colleagues in office, who he believed would be averſe to it; that he would, however, repreſent his ſituation to the joint members of his own government, and wait their determination. In the mean time he adviſed him to make advances to Madajee Scindia, as the effective head of the Mahratta State, and who was in intimate union and ſworn connection with the Engliſh."

In his ſubſequent diſpatches to the council at Calcutta, Mr. Haſtings requeſts to be inveſted

veſted with diſcretionary powers of acting in relation to the court of Dehli, under a vague promiſe of "not *proceeding* againſt their ſenſe." The council, in reply, not only refuſed to grant any ſuch powers, but exhorted him "moſt ſedulouſly and cautiouſly to avoid, in his correſpondence with the different potentates of India, whatever might commit, or be ſtrained into an *interpretation* of committing, the Company as to their army or treaſure—obſerving, that the Company's orders are poſitive againſt their interference in the objects of diſpute between the *Country Powers*." But this injunction the ſophiſtical ſubtlety of Mr. Haſtings was at no loſs how to evade; for, in his letter of June 1784, to the court of directors, he ſays, "The faction which now ſurrounds the THRONE is widely different from the idea which your commands are intended to convey by the expreſſions to which you have generally applied them, of 'Country Powers,' to which that of permanency is a neceſſary adjunct, and which may be more properly compared to a ſplendid bubble, which the ſlighteſt breath of oppoſition may diſſipate, with every trace of its exiſtence—That if the Mogul's authority is ſuffered to receive its final extinction, it is impoſſible to foreſee what power may ariſe out of its ruins, or what events may be linked in the ſame chain of revolution with it.

—Your intereſts *may* ſuffer by it; your reputation certainly *will*, as his right to our aſſiſtance has been conſtantly acknowledged; more eſpecially as, by the movements which the influence of our government by too near an approach has excited, it has unfortunately become the efficient inſtrument of a great portion of the king's preſent diſtreſſes and dangers."

According to this moſt curious logic, the Company's orders, not to interpoſe in the diſputes of "the country powers," were not violated by entering into a war for the re-eſtabliſhment of the authority of the Mogul; *becauſe*, the imperial crown of Hindoſtan being reduced to a "ſplendid bubble," the emperor could not now be reckoned amongſt the country powers. But, either recollecting or forgetting himſelf, he immediately offers another argument directly the reverſe of the former, viz. "that the authority of the Mogul, even in its preſent ſtate, was ſo conſiderable, that, if it was ſuffered to be annihilated, great danger might ariſe to the Company's intereſts, from the power which ſhould be eſtabliſhed on its ruins." And laſtly he urges, "that the Engliſh Company are bound in equity and juſtice to aſſiſt in raiſing the throne of the Mogul to its former ſtate of exaltation, becauſe they have been the efficient inſtrument of its preſent diſtreſs and degradation" (alluding no doubt

doubt to the deprivation of his tribute and the ſeizure of his demeſne), "in lieu of which they were now bound *in honor* to enable him to ſeize upon the property of others; and his imperial majeſty would, no doubt, deem himſelf bound in return to reward his honorable allies, the Company, with a reaſonable ſhare of the plunder."

On the firſt advice of the flight of the prince from Dehli, Mr. Haſtings wrote to the Mahratta chief, Madajee Scindia, to appriſe him of this event, and, profeſſing *himſelf unprepared*, to aſk his advice how to act in this emergency: and certain confidential agents from the Mahratta chief repairing to Lucknow, held frequent and ſecret conferences with the governor, the purport of which was never communicated to the Board at Calcutta.

The whole of this tiſſue of cabals and intrigues terminated, however, very unexpectedly, in the ſudden invaſion of the emperor's territories by the Mahrattas, who made themſelves maſters of Dehli; and the emperor, being a ſecond time priſoner in their hands, was obliged to declare the head of the Mahratta ſtate to be vicegerent of the Mogul empire; in which capacity great and indefinite claims of ſuperiority were advanced on the part of the Peiſhwa, and a ſpecific

claim ſet up to the tribute due to the emperor from Bengal.

Far from being alarmed at this addition to the Mahratta power, Mr. Haſtings declared, "that ſuch was the attachment of Scindia to the Engliſh, that, while he lives, every acceſſion of territory obtained by him will be an advantage to this government." Upon which it has been authoritatively remarked, "That if this were true reſpecting the perſonal diſpoſition of Scindia, yet does it not leſſen the criminality of eſtabliſhing a power which muſt ſurvive the man to whom a power more than perſonal was given *.

What is perhaps the moſt extraordinary circumſtance in theſe extraordinary tranſactions, Mr. Haſtings, embracing the opportunity when

* Vide Articles of Impeachment exhibited againſt Warren Haſtings, Eſq. by Edmund Burke. But theſe articles muſt by no means be confounded with the articles actually preſented by the commons, at the bar of the houſe of lords, which, being reduced by a ſubſequent reviſion, from 22 to 20 in number, aſſumed a new and very different form. In the latter, the important charges relative to the Rohillas, the Mahrattas, the treatment of the Mogul, the negotiations at Dehli, &c. &c. were entirely omitted. Thoſe retained were: 1ſt, the article reſpecting Benares; 2d, the Begums; 3d, Ferruckabad; 4th, Contracts; 5th, Fyzoola Khan; 6th, Preſents; 7th, Revenues; and the thirteen laſt conſiſt in a detail, under various heads, of the oppreſſions and diſtractions prevailing in the province of Oude, in conſequence of the mal-adminiſtration of Mr. Haſtings.

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the Mahrattas were assembled in great force upon the frontiers of the vizieriate of Oude, entered into an AGREEMENT with the vizier, after seven years useless retention of them at a ruinous expence, to withdraw a very great proportion of the British troops, in this moment of danger, from the province; asserting, in contradiction to the whole tenor of his conduct and former declarations, "that this government has not any right to force defence with its maintenance upon the nabob." The council refusing in present circumstances to ratify this *agreement*, Mr. Hastings moved, in his minute of December 4, 1784, "that if, contrary to his opinion, the said troops should not be reduced, they should be employed under the prince Mirza Jehander Shah (now notoriously under the absolute control of the Mahrattas) to assist in carrying on a war against the nation called the SEIKS, the antient enemies of the Mahratta state—a warlike people, possessing an extensive territory to the north-west of India, on the confines of Tartary. I feel," says he, "the sense of an obligation imposed upon me, by the supposition I have made, to state a mode of rendering the detachment of use in its prescribed station, and of affording the appearance of a cause for its detention."

Mr. Hastings indeed admitted, that there was no *present danger* to the Company's possessions from

from this remote and almoſt unknown people; but he declared, "that their military and enthuſiaſtic ſpirit, the hardineſs of their natural conſtitution, the dangers which *might* ariſe from them in ſome future time, if they *ſhould ever happen* to be united under one head, were reaſons in favor of this war; and he predicted great danger from them, at no very diſtant period, if they be permitted to grow into maturity without interruption. Acknowledging that the urgent ſolicitations of the prince had their weight with him, he profeſſed nevertheleſs that a ſtronger impulſe, ariſing from the hope of blaſting the growth of a generation whoſe ſtrength *might* become fatal to our own, pleaded in his mind for ſupporting his wiſhes."

The council, unable to explore the dark and unfathomable abyſs of the governor's politics, and aſtoniſhed, doubtleſs, at an inconſiſtency ſo groſs and flagrant as that of warring againſt a power *leſt it ſhould become formidable*, in favor of a power *already formidable*, negatived the propoſition; and the peace of India was for this time happily preſerved.

The governor, perceiving his influence in the council loſt, knowing his reputation at home to be greatly in the wane, and fearing moſt probably a diſgraceful diſmiſſion, now thought it expedient to RESIGN the GOVERNMENT. On his arrival

arrival in England he was, after a long previous inveſtigation of his numerous delinquencies, moſt deſervedly IMPEACHED at the bar of the houſe of lords, by the commons of Great Britain, of HIGH CRIMES and MISDEMEANORS in the execution of his office.

The political character of Mr. Haſtings, on a cool and impartial review of his conduct, ſo forcibly impreſſes itſelf upon the mind, that it can derive little aid from any adventitious illuſtration. Daring in the conception, and ardent in the proſecution of his deſigns; fertile in reſources, and relying with confidence and even with pride on the ſtrength of his own genius, his character acquired a certain ſtamp of dignity and ſuperiority from the inflexibility of his temper, and the apparent force of his own conviction reſpecting the rectitude and propriety of his meaſures: to which muſt be added, that in his public diſpatches he poſſeſſed the dangerous art of giving plauſibility to the moſt abſurd and pernicious meaſures by artful and impoſing gloſſes, branching out ſometimes into ſtudied ambiguities, ſometimes into bold aſſumptions, under a perpetual external ſhow of ingenuouſneſs, liberality, and candor.

The numerous individuals returning in rapid ſucceſſion from India, whom Mr. Haſtings had engaged in his intereſt by various obligations, contributed

tributed alſo to enhance his reputation, by the high eulogiums which they almoſt univerſally beſtowed upon his conduct; and in which, dazzled by the brilliant exterior of the governor's adminiſtration, and unequal to the clear comprehenſion of an extenſive and complex ſyſtem, they were probably for the moſt part very ſincere. The truth however is, that this man, for thirteen years the ſcourge of the Eaſt, and whom ignorance and folly have prepoſterouſly ranked with the SULLYS and the CHATHAMS of the Weſt, has never been, and never can become, the theme of diſcerning and rational panegyric. Not to ſpeak of his total and flagrant diſregard of the ſole legitimate end and object of government, the happineſs of the governed, his conduct will be found, in almoſt all its parts, and in the choice and proſecution of his own purpoſes, abſurd, perplexed, capricious, and inconſequent. His courſe was one perpetual deviation from the ſtraight and luminous path of political and moral rectitude; and his general reputation was ſupported chiefly by his habitual vigor of mind and perſonal courage, which were in him intimately blended, and ſeemed to riſe on ſome occaſions even to the ſemblance of magnanimity. His exertions in the laſt war for the preſervation of the Carnatic, which he had ſo wantonly and raſhly endangered, were generally

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and juſtly ſpoken of as highly meritorious; but even in this moſt ſplendid and boaſted part of his political conduct he could challenge only the praiſe of a madman, who fires the houſe and then labors ſtrenuouſly to extinguiſh the flames.

The adminiſtration of Mr. Haſtings has been truly ſaid, in the glowing expreſſions of eloquence *, "to exhibit a medley of meanneſs and outrage, of duplicity and depredation, of prodigality and oppreſſion, of the moſt callous cruelty contraſted with the hollow affectation of liberality and good faith. The ſordid ſyſtem of commercial policy, to which all the arrangements and regulations of the Company are ultimately to be traced, was under his government carried to its utmoſt extent.—Thus have nations been extirpated for a ſum of money, whole tracts of country laid waſte to furniſh an inveſtment, princes expelled for the balance of an account, and a bloody ſceptre wielded in one hand, in order to repleniſh the empty purſe of mercantile mendicancy diſplayed in the other."

The conceſſions of Mr. Haſtings himſelf are indeed occaſionally very large and ample; for his views ſeldom ſeem to have extended beyond

* Vide Sheridan's Speech on the Begum Charge, in the 14th article of impeachment.

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the preciſe object which he wiſhed at the moment to compaſs. The ruinous effects of Britiſh perfidy and Britiſh barbarity in India are very ſtrongly and diſtinctly ſtated in his letters, diſpatches, and minutes of council. In his minute of September 29, 1783, he ſays, "By a ſacred and undeviating obſervance of every principle of public faith, the Britiſh dominion might have by this time acquired the means of its extenſion, through a virtual ſubmiſſion to its authority, to every region of Hindoſtan and Decan.—But the powers of India ALL dread the connection.—The ſubjection of Bengal, the uſurpations in the Carnatic, the licentious violations of the treaty with the nizam, the effects of our connections with the vizier, ſtand as TERRIBLE PRECEDENTS againſt us." Yet as to himſelf, the *primum mobile* of the whole ſyſtem, he declares in his famous Minutes of Defence, "that he had the conſcious ſatisfaction to ſee all his meaſures terminate in their deſigned objects; that his political conduct was invariably regulated by truth, juſtice, and good faith; and that he reſigned his charge in a ſtate of eſtabliſhed peace and ſecurity, with all the ſources of its abundance unimpaired, and even improved." To reconcile theſe apparent incongruities, we are required therefore, by a ſpecies of faith which can work miracles,

miracles, to believe that there exiſted in India crimes without a criminal, oppreſſions without an oppreſſor, and tyranny without a tyrant. In fine, when we conſider with ſerious attention the origin and progreſs of the Britiſh government in India, the friendſhip and generoſity with which the Engliſh nation was received and permitted to form eſtabliſhments in that country, the black and baſe ingratitude with which thoſe obligations were requited, and the unexampled, unprovoked, and unatoned exceſſes which have been perpetrated on the princes and inhabitants of Hindoſtan, is it the weakneſs of ſuperſtition merely to tremble at the ſecret apprehenſion that ſome mighty vengeance is yet in ſtore for this kingdom; ſuch as finally, by the intervention of obvious cauſes, overwhelmed and ſubverted the proud, corrupt, and tyrannic empires of antiquity?

We are now to revert, from this long but neceſſary and important digreſſion, to the regular narrative of events in England.

On the 18th of July, 1781, the ſeſſion was cloſed by a ſpeech, in which his majeſty obſerved, "that the great efforts made by the nation, to ſurmount the difficulties of the preſent arduous and complicated war, muſt convince the world that the antient ſpirit of the Britiſh nation was not abated or diminiſhed; and he was reſolved

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to accept of no terms or conditions of peace, than ſuch as might conſiſt with the honor and dignity of his crown, and the permanent intereſts and ſecurity of his people."

The military hiſtory of the preſent year was marked, in its commencement, by a ſpirited though abortive attempt on the part of the French, to capture the iſland of Jerſey by a *coup-de-main*.—Early on the 16th of January, 1781, a landing was effected by the baron de Rullecourt, at the head of about 800 men, at the Bank du Violet; and, to the aſtoniſhment of the inhabitants, when the day began to dawn, the market-place of St. Helier was found occupied by French troops. The governor's houſe being entirely ſurrounded, he was compelled to ſurrender himſelf priſoner, and was ſo far intimidated as even to ſign articles of capitulation. But when Elizabeth-Caſtle was ſummoned, captain Aylward, the commander, far from paying the leaſt regard to the acts of the governor in his preſent ſtate of durance, fired upon the French and obliged them to retreat; and major Pierſon, a young and gallant officer, ſecond in command, having aſſembled the regular troops and militia of the iſland on the heights near the town, attacked the enemy with the greateſt reſolution and vigor. Baron Rullecourt being at the commencement of the action mortally wounded, the French

French troops in leſs than half an hour laid down their arms, and ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war. Unfortunately almoſt the laſt ſhot fired previous to the ſurrender proved fatal to major Pierſon, in whoſe conduct, during the whole of this tranſaction, diſcretion and valor had been equally conſpicuous.

Early intelligence of the rupture with Holland having been tranſmitted to the Weſt Indies, admiral Rodney and general Vaughan appeared, February 1781, with a very conſiderable naval and military force before the iſland of St. Euſtatia, that famous depoſit of wealth and mart of traffic. So little apprehenſive were the inhabitants of this event, that it was with difficulty they were brought to give credit to the ſummons. Being totally deſtitute of the means of reſiſtance, they were compelled to ſurrender at diſcretion. But ſo far were the Britiſh commanders from imitating the noble example of lenity and policy ſet by the marquis de Bouillé, that, with a rigor unknown and unheard-of amongſt civilized nations, the immenſe property found on the iſland was declared to be confiſcated, on pretence of the aſſiſtance afforded by the inhabitants to the Americans—as if the inhabitants of Euſtatia were amenable to the laws of Great Britain. The ſtores and merchandize, eſtimated at three millions ſterling, were publicly ſold for

about one fourth of their real value; and the world ſaw with aſtoniſhment Britiſh naval and military officers, of the higheſt rank and reputation, degraded by a kind of harlequin metamorphoſis into ſaleſmen and auctioneers. A prodigious number of trading veſſels lying in the harbour alſo became the property of the victors, with two men of war, one of which was a flag ſhip commanded by admiral count Byland.

Nearly at the ſame time the Dutch ſettlements of Demerary, Berbicia, and Iſſequibo, on the Southern Main, alſo ſubmitted without reſiſtance to the arms of his Britannic majeſty. Here, however, the ſame indiſcriminate confiſcation of private property did not take place. But the proceedings at St. Euſtatia excited univerſal conſternation; and a memorial was preſented to admiral Rodney and general Vaughan, by the hands of Mr. Glanville, his majeſty's ſolicitor-general for St. Chriſtopher's, ſtrongly repreſenting, "that if by the fate of war the Britiſh Weſt-India Iſlands ſhould fall into the hands of an enraged enemy, the conduct of St. Euſtatia would be a pretext for them to retaliate; that the conquerors of all civilized countries had avoided the invaſion of private property; that the generoſity of the enemy had been very conſpicuous; and even in the caſe of Grenada, which had been taken by ſtorm, the rights of individuals had been

been held ſacred; that Euſtatia was a free port, and the rich and various commodities found there were far from being the ſole property of the Dutch; that a great proportion of it belonged to Britiſh ſubjects; and that, previous to the declaration of war, the trade to Euſtatia was ſtrictly legal, and the officers of his majeſty's cuſtoms cleared out veſſels from all the ports of Great Britain and Ireland for this iſland. And not merely the legality, but the propriety of this trade was confirmed by the conduct of his majeſty's naval officers in thoſe ſeas; for if the king's enemies were ſupplied by the trade of his ſubjects through Euſtatia, they were likewiſe ſupplied, through the ſame channel, by the ſale of the prizes captured by his majeſty's ſhips of war." —The admiral haughtily replied to Mr. Glanville, "that he had no LEISURE to peruſe the memorial; but that the iſland of Euſtatia was Dutch, every thing in it was Dutch, every thing was under the protection of the Dutch flag, and as Dutch it ſhould be treated."

While the Britiſh arms were thus ignobly employed, the French fleet under count de Graſſe, after a partial engagement with admiral Hood, who, in the abſence of ſir George Rodney, commanded the Engliſh fleet, ſteered its courſe to the iſland of Tobago, on which M. de Bouillé, with a conſiderable land force, made an imme-

diate deſcent. Admiral Rodney, on receiving intelligence of this attack, detached a ſquadron for the relief of the iſland, which finding the French in great force was obliged to return; and the admiral, accompanied by general Vaughan, now ſailed in perſon with the whole fleet for Tobago, off the coaſt of which he arrived the 4th of June, but had the mortification to learn that the iſland had ſurrendered on the ſecond.

At the latter end of the year the iſland of Euſtatia was loſt in a manner not leſs diſgraceful than that by which it had been gained. M. de Bouillé, receiving certain intelligence of the habitual negligence of the garriſon, landed by night about four hundred troops, part of a much larger force which the tempeſtuouſneſs of the weather had ſeparated, in a cove at the back of the iſland. This ſpirited officer, confiding in his fortune, advanced with his troops, as ſoon as day-light appeared, to the citadel, which they immediately ſtormed, and carried with little difficulty; and the ſurpriſe being very complete, near ſeven hundred men, with colonel Cockburne their commander, were, by a moſt humiliating neceſſity, conſtrained to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war. The generoſity of M. de Bouillé was on this occaſion, as on every other, no leſs conſpicuous than his gallantry, forming a contraſt with the conduct of the late captors,

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very flattering to the feelings of his countrymen. Reſtitution, ſo far as circumſtances would permit, was immediately made to thoſe unfortunate individuals who had been ſtripped and plundered of their property; and a declaration publiſhed, that the forces of his Moſt Chriſtian majeſty defended the iſland only till relieved by the troops of their High Mightineſſes.

On the continent of America, the war in the central colonies, though conducted by the oppoſing commanders in chief, ſeemed to languiſh, and affords ſcarcely any incident worthy of hiſtoric regard. Early in the preſent year it happened that the whole Pennſylvania line in the continental army, from cauſes of diſſatisfaction not well aſcertained, at once revolted; and, collecting the artillery, ſtores, &c. belonging to them, moved in an entire body out of the camp. General Clinton, anxious to improve to the utmoſt this ſeeming advantage, immediately paſſed over to Staten Iſland with a large body of forces, and diſpatched meſſengers to the revolters with almoſt unlimited offers of pay, pardon, and protection. Theſe propoſitions were not only rejected with diſdain, but the meſſengers were actually delivered up by them to congreſs; and having obtained a promiſe of the redreſs of grievances, they ſoon returned to their duty.

An expedition under the conduct of general

Arnold and general Philips was ſoon after this undertaken into Virginia, where they ſignalized themſelves by laying waſte the country, and did much damage to the Americans by the deſtruction of an immenſe quantity of proviſions, merchandize, and ſtores, depoſited in different parts; and a permanent ſtation was eſtabliſhed at Portſmouth, in order to co-operate with lord Cornwallis, whoſe tranſactions to the ſouthward were ſtill carried on with ſpirit and ſucceſs. A plan having been formed between the French and American commanders, count Rochambeau and general Waſhington, to inveſt the poſt occupied by general Arnold, a warm engagement took place in the month of March between admiral Arbuthnot and a French ſquadron under M. Deſtouches, at the entrance of the Cheſapeak, in which the former obtained the advantage, and was left maſter of the navigation of the bay; and in his diſpatches to the Admiralty, the naval commander writes, "The count Rochambeau muſt ſeek another opportunity of viſiting Virginia—the plan of the REBEL campaign is entirely diſconcerted." But the event of the campaign ill correſponded with the confidence of this prediction.

At the concluſion of the year 1780, general Gates, whoſe recent diſaſters had obliterated the memory of his former ſucceſſes, was ſuperſeded in

in his command by general Green, a man who, in military talents, appears to have been inferior to no officer employed in the ſervice of the American States during this war. Early in the month of January, 1781, lord Cornwallis began his march to North Carolina, general Green retiring at his approach beyond the Pedee, having previouſly detached colonel Morgan at the head of the light troops to the weſtward of the Wateree, to penetrate into South Carolina, and watch the motions of the Engliſh at Wynneſborough and Camden. Lord Cornwallis, not chooſing to leave ſo conſiderable a corps in his rear, ordered colonel Tarleton, at the head of a ſuperior force, and who had been hitherto uniformly ſucceſsful in all his enterpriſes, to drive Morgan from his ſtation.

On the 17th of January the Americans were diſcovered poſted at a place called the Cowpens, near an open wood, and drawn up in two lines; the firſt of which conſiſted of militia only, the ſecond of continental infantry and Virginia riflemen; and a choſen body of cavalry was poſted as a *corps de reſerve* at ſome diſtance in the rear. Colonel Tarleton led on the attack with his uſual impetuoſity; and the American militia, as colonel Morgan had foreſeen, gave way on all quarters. The Britiſh then advanced, ſecure of victory, to the attack of the ſecond

line; and the continentals, after an obſtinate conflict, retreated towards the cavalry. In the mean time the militia had formed again, agreeably to their previous orders, on the right of the continentals; and the American *corps de reſerve*, perceiving the Britiſh troops diſordered in the purſuit, now came forward to the attack—the militia and continentals at the ſame time vigorouſly charging with fixed bayonets. Nothing could exceed the aſtoniſhment of the Britiſh troops at theſe unexpected charges. The advanced corps immediately fell back, and communicated a general confuſion and panic, which all the efforts of colonel Tarleton could not remedy. Such was the precipitate flight of the cavalry, that the officers, in attempting to rally their men, were overborne and carried away with the torrent; and the greateſt part of the infantry, perceiving themſelves abandoned, threw down their arms and begged for quarter. The cannon, colours, and baggage-waggons, with more than 700 priſoners, fell into the hands of the victors. Colonel Morgan received, as he well deſerved, the thanks of the congreſs, accompanied with a gold medal, for this important victory, which left his antagoniſt deſtitute of all conſolation, excepting that ariſing from the conſciouſneſs of his own gallant perſonal exertions; and colonel Tarleton might exclaim in

the language of Francis I. after the fatal defeat of Pavia, "All is loſt except our honor!"

Inſtead of being overwhelmed with their repeated diſaſters, the Americans ſeemed to riſe with freſh courage from each misfortune. The affair of Cowpens, which ſo ſoon followed the defeat of major Ferguſon, might have ſufficed to deter an officer leſs enterpriſing than lord Cornwallis from proſecuting his bold and hazardous projects. His lordſhip, who in his public diſpatches ſtyled the defeat of Tarleton an unexpected and ſevere blow, in the hope of recovering the priſoners captured at the Cowpens, and intercepting the victorious Americans, immediately marched with the greater part of his army by rapid movements in purſuit of colonel Morgan. That officer had croſſed the Catawba a few hours only before the arrival of lord Cornwallis on its ſouthern banks, where, by heavy rains, he was detained two or three days.

On the 1ſt of February, however, the paſſage was found practicable; but colonel Morgan had by this time croſſed the Yadkin, and effected his junction with general Green, who, on the 5th, wrote confidentially to a military correſpondent, general Huger, that he was preparing to receive the enemy's attack. "It is," ſays he, "not improbable, from lord Cornwallis's puſhing diſpoſition, and the contempt he

he has for our army, that he may precipitate himſelf into ſome capital misfortune." At length the whole American army, after croſſing the Dan into Virginia, ſuddenly returned into the province of North Carolina; and with powerful reinforcements took (March 14) a ſtrong poſition near Guildford Court-houſe. At day-break, on the 15th, lord Cornwallis advanced to the attack of the Americans, who were formed in three lines ready to receive him. Through the misbehaviour of the North-Carolina militia, who were poſted in front, the Britiſh troops ſoon forced their way to the ſecond line compoſed of Virginians, who made a much better defence, and, when at length thrown into diſorder, effected a good retreat. The continental troops, who formed the third line, were laſt engaged; and here the conteſt was long and ſevere, but the Britiſh ultimately carried their point by ſuperiority of numbers and diſcipline. The Maryland brigade being broke, an attempt was made to turn the flank of the Americans, and to ſurround the continental troops; on which general Green drew off the army, and left the field of battle, with the artillery, conſiſting of four field-pieces, to the enemy. The Americans retired in good order, and took poſt behind a river, three miles only from the ſcene of action. This victory, for ſo it muſt be called, had, according

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to the obſervation of the commander in chief, ſir Henry Clinton, all the conſequences of a defeat. The royal army was too much diſabled and weakened to purſue the enemy. And we are told by a writer who was himſelf an officer and commiſſary in the army of lord Cornwallis (Mr. Stedman), "that the Britiſh troops remained near two days without ſubſiſtence; that they were deſtitute of tents, and that the night ſucceeding the battle was remarkable for its darkneſs—the rain at the ſame time falling in torrents. Many of the wounded, ſinking under their aggravated miſeries, expired before morning. The cries of the wounded and dying who remained on the field of action," ſays he, "exceed all deſcription. Such a complicated ſcene of horror and diſtreſs, it is hoped for the ſake of humanity, rarely occurs even in a military life." But ſuch are the triumphs of war—and ſuch the picture of thoſe miſeries which the accurſed ſpirit of pride and domination has in all ages created, and which men loſt to the feelings of humanity, and remote from the ſcene of action, regard with calm indifference, or even for the moſt part as a matter of agreeable amuſement and curioſity.

This was an affair very different from that of Camden; and, inſtead of purſuing the advantages thus

thus dearly purchaſed on the part of the Engliſh by the loſs of 600 veteran troops, the Britiſh general found himſelf under the neceſſity, in order to procure the requiſite ſupplies for his army, to direct his march towards Wilmington, ſituated near the mouth of Cape-Fear river, a poſt already occupied by a detachment of Britiſh troops, where he arrived on the 7th of April.

General Green, perceiving lord Cornwallis reduced to a ſtate of reluctant inaction, immediately, by a bold and deciſive manœuvre, directed his march to the ſouthward, and unexpectedly attacked the important poſt of Camden. This was gallantly maintained by lord Rawdon; but the ſurrounding ſtations of Fort-Motte, Orangeburg, Congarees, and Auguſta, being ſucceſſively forced, his lordſhip was compelled to evacuate Camden, and retire to the ſouth of the Santee. General Green then laid cloſe ſiege to the town or townſhip of Ninety-ſix *, which was conſidered as commanding the whole of the back country; and on the approach of lord Rawdon, who had recently received great reinforcements from England, attempted to ſtorm

* This ſingular name had its origin in the number of miles which denoted the diſtance of the ſettlement from the town of Kecowee in the Cherokee country.

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the garriſon, but was repulſed with loſs, by colonel Cruger, the governor, and retired with his army behind the Saluda. Being adviſed by divers of his officers, on this misfortune, to retreat back to Virginia, he replied with true military enthuſiaſm, "I will recover the country, or die in the attempt." Thus, in ſituations where feeble minds droop and languiſh, the ardor of genius burns with redoubled luſtre. No ſooner was the Britiſh army divided and weakened by the ſeveral detachments neceſſary to occupy their former poſts, than general Green again croſſed the Saluda in force. Lord Rawdon, ſurpriſed and unprepared for action, retired to Orangeburg; and the important poſt of Ninety-ſix, ſo gallantly defended, was now evacuated. The garriſon joining lord Rawdon, with other troops drawn from the advanced poſts, general Green took a ſtrong poſition on the high hills of Santee, whence he detached different parties to intercept the convoys and beat up the quarters of the Engliſh between Orangeburg and Charlestown.

The Britiſh, now under the command of colonel Stuart, having advanced to the point of junction between the Wateree and Congaree, in order to cover the country to the ſouth and ſouth-eaſt of thoſe rivers, general Green paſſed the Congaree with a view to incloſe the Britiſh army

army in its preſent inſulated ſituation, or compel them to retreat towards Charlestown. Colonel Stuart immediately fell back forty miles, to a place called Eutaw Springs, where he took an advantageous poſition, his right extending to the Eutaw, and his left to a riſing ground which was occupied by a *corps de reſerve*. General Green, with the American army, advanced, September 8, 1781, to the attack with the greateſt reſolution. The Virginian and Maryland continentals charged the left wing of the Britiſh with trailed arms through a heavy cannonade and ſhower of muſquetry, and bore down all before them. The American cavalry, at the ſame time, turned the left flank of the Britiſh, and attacked them in the rear. The whole army gave way in great confuſion; but in their retreat, gaining an open field, they were, with much addreſs, rallied by colonel Stuart, and formed again under protection of an effective and well-directed fire from a large and moated houſe, which ſerved them in the ſtead of a redoubt; and from whence the Americans, after repeated efforts, were not able to diſlodge them. And the right wing of the Britiſh preſſing on the left flank of the Americans, general Green thought proper to order a retreat, leaving four pieces of artillery in the hands of the Britiſh, two of which had been taken by the Americans in the

the early part of the engagement. The Engliſh were in no condition to purſue, and general Green carried off with him all his wounded and ſeveral hundred priſoners. Alſo about five hundred men were killed and wounded on the part of the Britiſh, by the acccunt of colonel Stuart, in this well-conteſted battle, in which the officers on each ſide fought hand to hand, and ſword to ſword. The loſs of the Americans in all theſe reſpects was much inferior; but as colonel Stuart was left in poſſeſſion of the field and ſeveral pieces of cannon, he claimed, agreeably to military etiquette, the honor of the victory;—but he might well exclaim with the monarch of Epirus, "Such another victory, and I am undone!"

In the evening of the next day he abandoned the Eutaw, and moved towards Charlestown, after deſtroying a great part of his ſtores, leaving behind him many of his wounded, and about a thouſand ſtand of arms. This engagement was deciſive of the fate of the war in the ſouthern colonies—the Britiſh not being able from this time to appear in the open field, and ſcarcely could they maintain their poſts in the vicinity of Charlestown and Savannah; and in the courſe of the next year thoſe towns were finally evacuated.

The military talents of general Green appear in

in a moſt ſtriking point of view, on the recollection that, notwithſtanding a ſucceſſion of what in military language muſt be ſtyled defeats, he finally effected his object, by recovering both the Carolinas in the ſpace of leſs than twelve months. At Guildford, at Camden, at Ninety-ſix, at the Eutaw Springs, the Britiſh commanders claimed the honors of the field, but the Americans reaped all the profit of theſe engagements. The plans of the American general were ſo happily concerted, his movements ſo judiciouſly timed, his vigilance ſo unwearied, his firmneſs and perſeverance ſo heroic, that he might be regarded as the controller rather than the favorite of fortune;—and his meaſures were taken with ſuch ſuperior ſagacity, that they not only merited but, in a certain ſenſe, commanded ſucceſs.

Lord Cornwallis, to whoſe operations it is now neceſſary to revert, on the march of general Green's army to the ſouthward, found himſelf reduced to a perplexing dilemma—either to abandon the Carolinas to their fate, or ſacrifice his hopes of future conqueſts, and entirely diſappoint the high and ſanguine expectations, which he knew to be formed in England, of the reſult of the preſent campaign. His pride at length overbalancing his prudence, he determined to proſecute his march to Virginia.

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The Roanoke, the Meherrin, and the Nottaway rivers were ſucceſſively croſſed by the Britiſh army with trifling oppoſition; and on the 20th of May his lordſhip arrived at Petersburg, where he was joined by the powerful detachment recently conducted thither by generals Arnold and Philips. The force under his lordſhip's command was now very formidable; and the marquis de la Fayette, who was at the head of the troops collected for the defence of the province, was compelled to keep a guarded diſtance, and conducted himſelf with ſo much judgment, that no conſiderable advantage could be obtained againſt him. From Petersburg lord Cornwallis advanced to James River, which he croſſed at Weſt Town; and thence marching through Hanover County, croſſed the South Anna or Pamunky river, whence by a rapid movement colonel Tarleton had nearly ſurpriſed the aſſembly of Virginia, now ſitting at Charlotte-ville.

Various expeditions were undertaken to different parts of the province, with uniform ſucceſs; and lord Cornwallis, by a well-concerted manœuvre, having taken a poſition between the American army and its grand *dépôt* of ſtores at Albemarle Court-houſe, could not avoid exulting in his ſuperiority. Knowing that the marquis de la Fayette was on his march to prevent that important capture, and believing that

he could not make his approach but with great diſadvantage and hazard, he in an unguarded moment exclaimed, "The boy cannot eſcape me!" But the marquis had the addreſs to extricate himſelf from this difficulty, by opening in the night a nearer and long diſuſed road to the Court-houſe: and the next day, to the ſurpriſe of lord Cornwallis, he had taken a poſition which effectually covered it from attack.

Lord Cornwallis, finding his plan fruſtrated, proceeded to Williamsburg, the capital of the province, which he took poſſeſſion of, June 26th, without oppoſition. Here he received advices from ſir Henry Clinton, which informed him, that the commander-in-chief, conceiving New York to be in danger from the united forces of the French and Americans, deſired the troops under general Arnold, which he had detached to Virginia, to be returned. This was the beginning of diſaſters. With this requiſition lord Cornwallis was compelled, however reluctantly, to comply. Knowing that his adverſary had been lately reinforced by a ſtrong body of troops under general Wayne, he did not think his preſent force adequate to maintain his ſtation at Williamsburg; he therefore determined to croſs James River to Portſmouth.

From falſe intelligence general Wayne arrived with the van of the American army on the banks

of

of the river, in expectation of attacking the rear of the Britiſh, unfortunately before any part of the army had paſſed. Perceiving his miſtake, he deemed it the beſt policy to charge boldly, though his corps did not amount to more than eight hundred men. After ſuſtaining a very unequal conflict for ſome time with great reſolution, Wayne ordered a rapid retreat; and lord Cornwallis, amazed at the circumſtances of this attack, and ſuſpecting that it muſt be meant to draw him into an ambuſcade, forbade all purſuit; and thus the courage of Wayne, as it often happens, availed more to his ſafety than if he had acted with the moſt timid and ſcrupulous caution. In the night lord Cornwallis paſſed over to Portſmouth, where he purpoſed to eſtabliſh his head-quarters; but, on farther deliberation, removed to York Town, as the more eligible ſituation.

Hitherto the plan of the campaign on the part of general Waſhington had wavered in uncertainty. He had long and ſeriouſly meditated an attack upon New York, and general Clinton had good reaſon to believe that this was finally determined upon at an interview between the American general and count Rochambeau, which took place in May; and in conſequence of this project, great preparations were made in the vicinity of New York, indicatory of an approach-

ing ſiege. But the arrival of conſiderable reinforcements from England, and the recall of ſo large a body of troops from Virginia, led general Waſhington, in his diſpatch of July 30th, to obſerve, "that from this change of circumſtances they ſhould probably entirely change their plan of operations."

At length a letter from count de Graſſe, ſtating that his deſtination was unalterably fixed to the Cheſapeak, left no alternative; and a joint anſwer was immediately ſent by the American and French generals, that they would loſe no time in removing the army to the ſouth of the Delawar, there to meet the admiral. All the appearances of an attack upon New York were, however, ſtill carefully kept up, till at length, on the 24th of Auguſt, the allied army ſuddenly decamped, paſſed the North River, and by rapid marches proceeded to Philadelphia, where they arrived on the 30th; the fleet of count de Graſſe, conſiſting of twenty-four ſhips of the line, entering nearly at the ſame time the bay of Cheſapeak.

So ſtrongly impreſſed was the mind of the Britiſh commander-in-chief with the notion of an attack upon New York, that he for a long time conceived the ſouthern march of the American army to be only a feint. But at length, finding that the van of the American army had actually paſſed the Delawar, and receiving authentic intelligence

telligence that the fleet of count de Graſſe was deſtined to the Cheſapeak, he communicated, as he tells us, his SUSPICIONS to lord Cornwallis; at the ſame time aſſuring his lordſhip, "that he would either reinforce him by every poſſible means in his power, or make the beſt diverſion he could in his favor."

Doubtleſs in this critical ſituation the moſt unlimited diſcretion ought to have been veſted in lord Cornwallis, conſidering the extreme uncertainty of affording him timely and effectual ſuccour, either to have retreated to Carolina, or to have attacked the enemy previous to the arrival of the combined army. "But being aſſured," to uſe the words of lord Cornwallis, "that every poſſible means would be tried by the navy and army for his relief, he did not think himſelf *at liberty* to attempt either, though he had ſo unfavorable an opinion of the poſt he occupied, that nothing but theſe aſſurances would have induced him to attempt its defence."

It is evident that the leading ideas of the two Britiſh generals did not coincide; and it may be remarked, that from the moment lord Cornwallis began to act in ſubordination to orders ſent him from New York he ceaſed to be ſucceſsful—So eſſential is it that the ſupreme command ſhould reſide in the centre of action. The commander-in-chief was at this period no more than

the governor of a diſtant garriſon; but had ſir Henry Clinton joined lord Cornwallis in perſon at his entrance into Virginia, or had the ſupreme command been then transferred to lord Cornwallis, the campaign, ſo far as we are authoriſed to draw a concluſion from concurring probabilities, would not have terminated ſo diſaſtrouſly.

On the 5th of September, the Engliſh fleet, conſiſting of nineteen ſhips of the line under admiral Graves, appeared off the Capes of Virginia; and count de Graſſe, expecting a reinforcement from Rhode Iſland, ſtood out to ſea for their protection. A warm engagement enſued, in which the Engliſh appear *not* to have obtained the advantage; and the count de Graſſe, being joined by the ſquadron of M. Barras, was left undiſputed maſter of the Cheſapeak. Relief was from this time wholly impracticable; and lord Cornwallis withdrew within his works, making every preparation for a vigorous defence. The military talents of this commander, though of no mean rate, were nevertheleſs unequal to ſo novel and perilous an exigency.

On the 17th of September the ſuperior ſagacity of general Green pronounced, in writing to his military friend and correſpondent baron Steuben, "Nothing can ſave lord Cornwallis but a rapid retreat through North Carolina to Charlestown." But his lordſhip ſtill lingered, and ſtill indulged eager

eager and fruitleſs hopes of ſuccour. York Town being ſituated nearly at the extremity of a narrow peninſula, incloſed between York River to the north and James River to the ſouth, it was inveſted with great eaſe and advantage by an enemy who commanded the navigation of the two rivers.

On the 14th of October the beſiegers, notwithſtanding the well-directed and inceſſant fire of the enemy, had advanced far in their ſecond parallel. Being greatly incommoded in their approaches by two redoubts at the diſtance of two hundred yards from the Britiſh lines, it was determined to attack them at the ſame time by different detachments of French and Americans. Actuated by the ſpirit of emulation, both redoubts were carried ſword in hand with reſiſtleſs impetuoſity. On marching to the aſſault, the general exclamation was, "Remember New London!" a place on the coaſt of Connecticut, which the renegade Arnold, in one of his predatory expeditions, had recently taken and deſtroyed, putting the troops which defended it to the ſword. On the ſubmiſſion, nevertheleſs, of the Britiſh ſtationed in the two redoubts, their lives were ſpared: and when the Americans were afterwards interrogated why they did not carry their previous reſolve into execution, they replied, "they could not

tell how to put men to death while begging on their knees for quarter." By this time the batteries of the beſiegers were covered with one hundred pieces of heavy ordnance; and the Britiſh works, enfiladed in almoſt every part, and nearly demoliſhed, could ſcarcely mount a ſingle gun. In this extremity no other reſource remained than to endeavour to tranſport the garriſon acroſs York River to Gloceſter Point, oppoſite to York Town, where works had been alſo erected, and were ſtill occupied by part of the Britiſh army. But this intention being totally fruſtrated by a violent ſtorm after the embarkation had actually commenced, lord Cornwallis was reduced to the hard and terrible neceſſity of propoſing terms of capitulation, which were granted only on condition of his lordſhip's ſurrendering himſelf, and the forces under his command, to the amount of above 7000 men, priſoners of war. The honor of marching out with colors flying, which had been refuſed to general Lincoln on his giving up Charlestown, was now refuſed to lord Cornwallis; and general Lincoln was appointed to receive the ſubmiſſion of the army of York Town preciſely in the ſame way his own had been conducted eighteen months before.

Such was the final iſſue of the eager hopes and ſanguine

ſanguine expectations excited by the firſt brilliant ſucceſſes of this noble and gallant commander. The joy of the Americans on the capture of a ſecond royal army was unbounded. In a circuitous march of 1100 miles, from Charlestown to Williamsburg, every place through which they paſſed had experienced the effects of their rapacity: and inſtead of endeavouring to conciliate the minds of the inhabitants by acts of lenity, they alienated even thoſe who were moſt friendly, by their relentneſs and ſyſtematic ſeverity. Yet was lord Cornwallis, as an individual, generous, diſintereſted, and humane; but the favorite and avowed maxim of the Britiſh government at this time, a maxim from which the military commanders ſeem not to have thought themſelves at liberty to depart, was, "that the extreme of rigor, by making the war intolerable, and reſiſtance hopeleſs, was *in effect* the greateſt mercy, and the mode of all others to be adopted, therefore, by the *parental affection of Britain*, for reclaiming his majeſty's *deluded ſubjects* of America." A marble column, with a ſuitable inſcription and trophies, was ordered by the congreſs to be erected at York Town, in commemoration of this glorious and deciſive event; and a ſolemn thankſgiving to Almighty God was appointed throughout all the States of the Union, "for the ſignal ſucceſſes with which he had vouchſafed to bleſs the armies

armies of America, combating in defence of their rights and liberties."

The remaining miſcellaneous tranſactions of the year muſt now be ſuccinctly noticed.

Early in the ſpring governor Johnſtone, late one of the commiſſioners to America, was inveſted with a naval command, and with a conſiderable ſquadron was detached on an expedition to the Cape of Good Hope. The court of Verſailles, knowing the preſent inability of the States General to protect their foreign dominions, ſent a ſuperior ſquadron under M. Suffrein, to counteract the deſigns of the Engliſh; and coming up with them at Port Praya, in the iſland of St. Jago, the French admiral ſcrupled not to violate the neutrality of the Portugueſe flag, by attacking the ſquadron of commodore Johnſtone while it lay diſperſed and ſcattered, unſuſpicious of danger, in the harbour. Happily the French, rather by extraordinary efforts of valor on the part of the Britiſh ſeamen, than of ſkill on that of their commander, were beaten off; but immediately proceeding to the Cape, they effectually ſecured that important ſettlement from any hoſtile attempt. Commodore Johnſtone, on his ſubſequent and tardy arrival, was obliged to content himſelf with the capture of ſeveral Dutch Eaſt-Indiamen in Saldanha Bay; and thoſe of his ſhips which were deſtined for the Eaſt Indies proſecuting

ting their voyage thither, the commodore returned home with his prizes from his inglorious though lucrative expedition.

In the courſe of the ſummer an engagement took place off the Dogger Bank, between an Engliſh ſquadron commanded by admiral Hyde Parker, and a Dutch ſquadron of equal force under admiral Zoutman, who had under convoy the Baltic trade bound to the Texel. On perceiving the Engliſh fleet bearing down, the Dutch admiral, who was to leeward, lay-to, and the Engliſh were ſuffered to approach within half muſquet ſhot without firing a gun, when a dreadful cannonade commenced, which was kept up without interruption for three hours and forty minutes; and the action then ceaſed only becauſe the ſhips on both ſides, from the damages they had reſpectively ſuſtained, were no longer found manageable. The Dutch, after ſome time, bore away with their convoy for the Texel, which they reached with great difficulty, one of their largeſt ſhips ſinking before they could make the harbour.

Admiral Parker, who had unavailingly applied to the Admiralty for a reinforcement, returned in great diſcontent and in a ſhattered condition to the Nore, where he received the ſignal honor of a viſit from his majeſty on board his own ſhip, and

and was offered *knighthood* as the reward of his valor. But his haughty refuſal ſhewed how little he was flattered by theſe petty and puerile diſtinctions.

The Dutch on their part beſtowed rewards more liberal and ſolid on the officers and ſailors of their fleet, and admiral Zoutman was received at Amſterdam with great applauſe and acclamation: and the event of this remarkable action ſhewed, that the Dutch ſeamen were ſtill poſſeſſed of that determined courage which had diſtinguiſhed them in the days of De Ruyter and Van Tromp.

About this time the emperor, now reſident in the Netherlands, iſſued a placart, by which Oſtend was declared to be a free port; and in the month of October he acceded in form to the armed neutrality, as the kings of Pruſſia and Portugal had alſo previouſly done.

Notwithſtanding the great conceſſions made by the parliament of Great Britain to the people of Ireland, that country, finding its own ſtrength, remained in a ſtate far ſhort of ſatisfaction: for it had ſtill much to aſk, or rather to demand. The army on the Iriſh eſtabliſhment had been hitherto invariably governed and directed by the ſole prerogative of the monarch; but as the ſpirit of liberty and independence increaſed,

creaſed, a Mutiny Bill, on the model of the Engliſh, had been recently introduced into the Iriſh parliament, and paſſed into a perpetual law. But a meaſure originally highly popular was now the ſubject of loud complaint; and it was affirmed, not without reaſon, that liberty could never be ſecured on juſt and conſtitutional grounds, ſo long as the monarch was irrevocably inveſted with the unlimited power of the ſword; that in England the Mutiny Bill was paſſed only from year to year, and in the very preamble of it ſtanding armies without the conſent of parliament are declared illegal; the troops themſelves, the law that regulated, and the power that commands them, are by this bill limited to one year. Thus was the army of England rendered a parliamentary army, and the conſtitutional aſcendency of the ſubject over the ſoldier preſerved.

In numerous county and provincial meetings the ſupremacy of the Britiſh parliament was in formal reſolves poſitively denied, and the abſolute independence of Ireland on the Britiſh legiſlature boldly aſſerted. The unconſtitutional powers of the Iriſh privy council, where, agreeably to the famous law of Poyning, all laws muſt originate, were reprobated, a Habeas-Corpus Act loudly called for, the abolition of all ſuperfluous

perfluous places and penſions inſiſted upon. The zeal and activity of the military aſſociations ſufficiently evinced their determination to enforce their claims by a mode of application which was in no danger of being diſregarded.

BOOK IX.

Session of Parliament—Infatuation of Ministers. Motion condemnatory of the American War by Sir James Lowther. Remarkable Debate on the Army Estimates. Lord George Germaine advanced to the Peerage under Circumstances of unprecedented Indignity and Disgrace. Mr. Fox renews his Motion of Censure upon Lord Sandwich, in which Two Hundred and Seventeen Members of the House of Commons concur. General Conway's Motion against the American War negatived by a Majority of One Voice only. General Conway's Second Motion carried by a Majority of Nineteen Voices. Successive Motions of Censure on the Ministers. Entire Change of Administration—Marquis of Rockingham a Second Time Minister. High and peremptory Claims of the Irish Parliament. Repeal of the Irish Declaratory Act. Mr. Burke's Reform Bill a Third Time introduced and passed. King's Debts a Third Time discharged. Resolution respecting the Middlesex Election rescinded. Mr. Pitt's Motion of Enquiry into the State of the Representation. Death of the Marquis of Rockingham. Advancement of Earl Shelburne—Fatal Divisions amongst the Whigs. Minorca conquered by the Spaniards. Island of St. Christopher, &c. captured by the French. The Bahamas taken by the Spaniards. Decisive Victory of Sir George Rodney over the French off Dominique. Glorious Defence and final Relief of Gibraltar. Provisional Articles of Peace with America signed at Paris, November 1782. General Washington resigns his Commission. Session of Parliament—Strength of the New Ministry. Preliminaries of Peace with France and Spain signed. Debates on the Peace—Terms of it disapproved by the Commons. Coalition between Mr. Fox and Lord North. Change of Ministry—Duke of Portland First Minister. Extreme Unpopularity of the

the Coalition Administration. Act of Renunciation of the Authority of Great Britain over Ireland. Embarrassments of the East-India Company. Mr. Pitt's Plan of Parliamentary Reform. Remarkable Petition of the Quakers. Order of Council for the Regulation of Commerce between the Continent of America and the West Indies. Treaty of Peace signed between England and Holland. State of Europe. Mr. Fox's India Bill moved—Passes the Commons, but is rejected by the Lords. Sudden Dismission of the Coalition Ministers. Mr. Pitt First Minister—His great Popularity. Political Conflict between the Crown and the Commons. Mr. Pitt's India Bill rejected. The Nation declares in Favor of the Crown. The Parliament dissolved. Meeting of the New Parliament—Triumph of the Minister.

THE ſecond ſeſſion of the preſent parliament commenced at Weſtminſter on the 27th of November, 1781. In the ſpeech from the throne his majeſty obſerved "that the war was ſtill unhappily prolonged, and that, to his great concern, the events of it had been very unfortunate to his army in Virginia, having ended in the total loſs of his forces in that province. But he could not conſent to ſacrifice, either to his own deſire of peace or to the temporary eaſe and relief of his ſubjects, thoſe eſſential rights and permanent intereſts upon which the ſtrength and ſecurity of this country muſt ever principally depend." His majeſty declared, "that he retained a firm confidence in the protection of Divine Providence, and A PERFECT CONVICTION of the JUSTICE of his CAUSE;"—and he

he concluded by calling "for the concurrence and ſupport of parliament, and a VIGOROUS, ANIMATED, and UNITED EXERTION of the FACULTIES and RESOURCES of his PEOPLE." Upon the whole, this ſpeech was plainly indicatory of a fixed and reſolute determination to proſecute a war, of which it might well be ſuppoſed that "fools as groſs as ignorance made drunk" might by this time have ſeen the hopeleſſneſs and the abſurdity.

The monarch had now ſwayed the ſceptre of theſe kingdoms more than twenty years, and, in the courſe of a long and variegated ſeries of events, his character both perſonal and political was completely matured and developed. The province of hiſtory is ſacred; and in the delineation of the different perſonages whom ſhe exhibits on the grand theatre of human action, ſhe equally diſdains injuſtice to the meaneſt and adulation to the higheſt individual. The capacity of this prince—whoſe reign will be memorable to all ſucceeding ages—little cultivated by education, and unimproved in early youth by a liberal intercourſe with men of genius and diſcernment, was by univerſal acknowledgment of a claſs

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Such is the picture, drawn by the indelible pencil of Truth, of the ſovereign whom adulation and folly have, with a too bitter ſatire on royalty, ſtyled the BEST of KINGS. The reverſe of the medal will indeed diſcover a life paſſed without any remarkable deviation from the rules of decorum, and much leſs any direct violation of the higher and more ſerious obligations of morality and religion. Grave, temperate, devout—from the contamination of thoſe vices which are uſually conſidered as more peculiarly characteriſtic of courts, he was wholly free. But the virtues of the man, were they ſuch as to entitle him to the honors of papal canonization, unfortunately afford to the public a moſt inadequate and wretched compenſation for the errors and imperfections of the monarch; under whoſe direful reign it may be juſtly affirmed, that the people ſuffered all that a dark and capricious malignity could inflict under the reſtraints of a conſtitution radically excellent.

The ſpeech from the throne underwent, as may well be imagined, the ſevereſt animadverſion.—Mr. Fox ſaid, He had expected, and he knew

knew it had been expected by many others, to hear on this occaſion his majeſty declare from the throne that he had been deceived and impoſed upon by miſinformation and miſrepreſentation; that, in conſequence of his deluſion, the parliament had been deluded, but that now the deception was at an end; and requeſting of his parliament to deviſe the moſt ſpeedy and efficacious means of putting an end to the public calamities:—inſtead of which they had heard a ſpeech breathing little elſe than vengeance, miſery, and blood. Thoſe who *were ignorant of the perſonal character of the ſovereign*, and who imagined this ſpeech to originate with him, might be led to ſuppoſe that he was an unfeeling deſpot, rejoicing in the horrid ſacrifice of the liberty and lives of his ſubjects, who, when all hope of victory was vaniſhed, ſtill thirſted for revenge. The miniſters who adviſed this ſpeech he affirmed to be a CURSE to the country over the affairs of which they had too long been ſuffered to preſide. From that unrivalled pre-eminence which we ſo lately poſſeſſed, they had made us the object of ridicule and ſcorn to the ſurrounding nations. The noble lord in the *blue ribband* had indeed thought fit to aſcribe the American war and all its attendant calamities to the ſpeeches of oppoſition. Oh! wretched and incapable miniſter, whoſe meaſures are framed with ſo

little foreſight, and executed with ſo little firmneſs, that, becauſe a raſh or intemperate invective is uttered againſt them in the houſe of commons, they ſhall inſtantly crumble in pieces, and bring down ruin upon the country!—Miſerable ſtateſman! to allow for no contingences of fortune, no ebullition of paſſion, no colliſion of ſentiment! Could he expect the concurrence of every individual in that houſe? and was he ſo weak or wicked as to contrive plans of government of ſuch a texture that the intervention of circumſtances obvious and unavoidable would occaſion their total failure, and hazard the exiſtence of the empire? Miniſters muſt expect to hear of the calamities in which they had involved the empire, again and again—not merely in that houſe, but, as he truſted, at the tribunal of juſtice:—"for (ſaid he) the time will ſurely come, when an oppreſſed and irritated people will firmly call for SIGNAL PUNISHMENT on thoſe whoſe counſels have brought the nation ſo near to the brink of deſtruction. An indignant nation will ſurely in the end compel them to make ſome faint atonement for the magnitude of their offences on a PUBLIC SCAFFOLD." He concluded with moving, "That of the addreſs propoſed the whole be omitted excepting the firſt paragraph, and the following words inſerted:—'And we will without delay apply ourſelves with united hearts

hearts to propoſe and digeſt ſuch counſels as may in this criſis excite the efforts, point the arms, and, by a total change of ſyſtem, command the confidence, of all his majeſty's ſubjects.'"

This amendment was vigorouſly ſupported by Mr. Pitt, who declared, "That the duty he owed his ſovereign and his country compelled him to exert every effort to prevent the houſe from precipitately voting an addreſs which pledged them to the ſupport of that fatal ſyſtem which had led this country, ſtep by ſtep, to the moſt calamitous and diſgraceful ſituation to which a once flouriſhing and glorious empire could be reduced.—Was it becoming the parliament of a free people to echo back the words which a miniſter, long practiſed in the arts of deluſion, had dared to put into the royal mouth? He implored the houſe not to vote for an addreſs fraught with treachery and falſehood, which could not have been framed by any who felt for the honor of the king, the dignity of parliament, or the intereſt of the nation."

Mr. Burke drew a moſt ſtriking picture of the loſſes and diſaſters which had been ſuſtained through the egregious folly and miſconduct of the preſent adminiſtration. "Under ſuch circumſtances the language held by the noble lord was (he ſaid) audacious; it was inſulting. Mr. Burke declared that he deplored and mourned

over the calamities of his country: but to ſee the noble lord ſtand up in the face of day, and hear him *impudently* vindicate the meaſures which had given birth to them—this was moſt of all alarming—this it was which froze his blood and harrowed up his ſoul!" Mr. Burke ridiculed with keen and exquiſite poignancy the ſtreſs ſo abſurdly laid on the ſuppoſed original and inherent right of Great Britain to exerciſe taxation over America. "Oh ineſtimable right!" exclaimed Mr. Burke, "Oh wonderful tranſcendent right! the aſſertion of which has coſt this country thirteen provinces, ſix iſlands, 100,000 lives, and ſeventy millions of money! Oh invaluable right! for the ſake of which we have ſacrificed our rank among nations, our importance abroad, and our happineſs at home! Oh right! more dear to us than our exiſtence; which has already coſt us ſo much, and which ſeems likely to coſt us our all!—Infatuated man!" cried Mr. Burke, fixing his eye on the miniſter; "Miſerable and undone country! not to know that the claim of right, without the power of enforcing it, is nugatory and idle! 'We had a right to tax America,' the noble lord tells us, 'therefore we ought to tax America.' This is the profound logic which compriſes the whole chain of his reaſoning. Not inferior to this was the wiſdom of him who reſolved to ſhear the wolf.

wolf. What! ſhear a wolf? Have you conſidered the reſiſtance, the difficulty, the danger of the attempt? 'No,' ſays the madman, 'I have conſidered nothing but the right. Man has a right of dominion over the beaſts of the foreſt, and therefore I will ſhear the wolf.' How wonderful that a nation could be thus deluded! But the noble lord dealt in cheats and deluſions. They were the daily traffic of his invention. And he would continue to play off his *cheats* on that houſe ſo long as he thought them neceſſary to his purpoſe, and ſo long as he had money enough at command to bribe gentlemen to pretend that they believed him. But a black and bitter day of reckoning would ſurely come; and whenever that day came, he truſted that he ſhould be able, by a PARLIAMENTARY IMPEACHMENT, to bring upon the heads of the authors of our calamities the puniſhment they deſerved."

An amendment of the ſame import with that propoſed by Mr. Fox was moved in the upper houſe by the earl of Shelburne, and ſupported by the duke of Richmond, who declared "the misfortunes of this country to be owing to that wretched ſyſtem of government which had been early adopted in the reign of his preſent majeſty, and to the influence of that INTERIOR CABINET which (he ſaid) had been the ruin of this coun-

try;" and he recalled to the recollection of the houſe the memorable declaration of the late earl of Chatham, 'that he was duped and deceived, and that he had not been ten days in the cabinet before he felt the ground rotten under his feet.'

In both houſes, however, the addreſſes were carried by great majorities, and a moſt melancholy and alarming proſpect preſented itſelf to the nation, of a fatal perſeverance in a war which, from an involuntary and irreſiſtible conviction univerſally impreſſed, was now regarded as deſperate, and paſſionately deprecated as tending to certain and remedileſs ruin.

In a very few days, a motion being made by ſir Grey Cooper for the houſe to reſolve itſelf into a committee of ſupply, a vehement debate aroſe. Mr. Fox, in the courſe of a moſt animated ſpeech, aſked "if miniſters would give any ſatisfactory aſſurance to the houſe, that the military forces which ſhould hereafter be ſent acroſs the Atlantic would be employed more ſucceſsfully or honorably than thoſe which had already been ſent thither? Did the American ſecretary wiſh to diſpatch a third army to America, that general Waſhington might a third time receive them as priſoners of war? Did he wiſh that more Britiſh troops ſhould be devoted to ſlaughter, captivity, and diſgrace? Notwithſtanding the defeat and dishonor which had attended the meaſures of adminiſtration,

miniſtration, they had yet diſcovered no ſigns of humiliation or penitence. Inſtead of acknowledging that they turned their eyes with inquietude and ſhame upon the criminal expenditure of fruitleſs millions, they did not bluſh to move for an increaſe of grants, that they might proſecute, till ruin ſhould have ſtopped their infamous career, hoſtilities which were the reſult of barbarous ambition, of implacable malevolence, of a deteſtation of liberty, of a contempt for every principle of juſtice, equity, and honor."

The miniſters were ſo vigorouſly puſhed in this debate, and ſeemed ſo utterly incapable of defending themſelves or their meaſures, that it was probably a welcome ſurpriſe to them, to find in their favor, on the diviſion, 172 voices to 77.

It being underſtood that preparations were making for another embarkation of troops from Ireland to America, a very important motion was on the 12th of December made by ſir James Lowther, "That it be reſolved by the houſe, that the war carried on againſt the colonies and plantations of North America had been ineffectual to the purpoſes for which it was undertaken; and that it was alſo the opinion of this houſe that all farther attempts to reduce the Americans to obedience by force muſt be injurious to this country, by weakening her powers to reſiſt her antient and confederated enemies." In ſupport

of

of this motion, which was indeed the plain dictate of common ſenſe, the mover obſerved, "that the late ſpeech from the throne had given a juſt alarm to the nation—it had ſhewn them that the miniſters were determined to perſevere in the American war—that more blood and more money were to be laviſhed in this fatal conteſt—the men inveſted with the powers of government derived no advantage from experience—the ſurrender of one army only gave them ſpirit to riſk a ſecond, and the ſurrender of the ſecond only inſtigated them to venture a third. There was no end of loſs nor of madneſs. The unexampled ignorance and miſconduct of the miniſtry were now viſible to all the world. It was therefore become the indiſpenſable duty of that houſe to come to ſome ſolemn reſolution, in order to mark and define their idea of the American war, and to convince their conſtituents that they were awake to the real ſituation of the country."

The motion was ſeconded by Mr. Powys, member for Northamptonſhire, who acknowledged, "that a variety of pretexts inſidiouſly advanced by the miniſters, and too credulouſly received by the majority of that houſe, had ſeduced them, from one ſeſſion to another, to move with fatal ſteps along the path to national deſtruction. The war with the colonies was the idol of his majeſty's miniſters; they had bowed before it themſelves, and

and had made the nation bow. The conduct which at the commencement of hoſtilities might be denominated firmneſs had now degenerated into obſtinacy—an obſtinacy which called upon all honeſt and independent men to deſert the preſent adminiſtration, unleſs a change of meaſures were adopted. That men who were indebted to war for their emoluments, power, and influence, ſhould perſevere in ſuch iniquitous and ſelfiſh meaſures, was not extraordinary; but it was a juſt cauſe for wonder that they ſhould be ſupported by individuals of independent principles and independent fortunes. The inſidious pretence of revenue was grown too ſtale for impoſition. The American war had been a war of deluſion from beginning to end. Every promiſe had been broken, every aſſertion had been falſified, every object relinquiſhed. It was now a war of this ſort, then a war of that ſort; now a war of revenue, then a war of ſupremacy; now a war of coercion, and then a war of friendſhip and affection for America: but it was time to put an end to theſe chicaneries. Whatever might be the nature of the war, no proſpect of ſucceſs in it remained. He therefore not only gave the motion his full concurrence, but he ſhould feel the higheſt pleaſure if it received the general approbation of the houſe."

This ſpeech bore a very ominous aſpect with relation

relation to the miniſters; for Mr. Powys being himſelf a principal leader of the independent intereſt, or *country gentlemen*, in the houſe, there was reaſon to apprehend the ſpeedy and general defection of that high and haughty claſs of members: and a mere miniſterial majority of placemen and penſioners, it is ſuperfluous to ſay, affords only a rotten and treacherous ſupport, whenever a ſurmiſe prevails that ſupport is really wanted.

In the courſe of the debate general Burgoyne acknowledged "that he was now convinced the *principle* of the American war was wrong, though he had not been of that opinion when he engaged in the ſervice. Paſſion and prejudice and intereſt were now no more, and reaſon and obſervation had led him to a very different concluſion: and he now ſaw that the American war was only one part of a ſyſtem levelled againſt the conſtitution of this country and the general rights of mankind."

Notwithſtanding the utmoſt oppoſition of the miniſter, the numbers, on dividing the houſe, appeared to be 179 in favor of the motion, againſt 220 who oppoſed it. This was a majority in which the miniſtry had little reaſon to exult. It afreſh excited the moſt ſanguine hopes of the public, who, with the exception of the high Tory and prerogative faction, were now perfectly unanimous

animous in their reprobation of the war and its authors.

On the 14th of December, two days only after the motion of ſir James Lowther, the army eſtimates were laid before the houſe by the ſecretary at war; from which it appeared that the whole military force required for the year 1782, including the provincial corps ſerving in America, amounted to 195,000 men. One hundred thouſand ſeamen and marines had been already voted by the houſe. It was however ſtated by lord George Germaine, "that the miniſtry were of opinion, conſidering the preſent ſituation of affairs, and the misfortunes of the war, that it would not be right to continue any longer the plan on which it had hitherto been conducted; and that a freſh army would not be ſent to ſupply the place of that captured at York Town. It was intended only to preſerve ſuch poſts in America as might facilitate and co-operate with the enterpriſes of our fleets."

In the debate which enſued, ſir George Saville particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf. "At length, then," ſaid this firm and faithful patriot, "we are given to underſtand that a change is to be made in the MODE of conducting the American war. The miniſters do not intend to proſecute it in the ſame manner as before. Why? Becauſe they

they could not if they would. But it appeared that they were determined to profecute it with all the feeble efforts of which they were yet capable. Being detained in the country by ill health, he had not heard the king's ſpeech on its firſt delivery: but when it reached him in his retirement, he had read it with HORROR, announcing as it did the continuance of the preſent war in its moſt deſtructive form. As to the addreſs of that houſe, in anſwer to the ſpeech, it was a mere echo without meaning, a futile and empty ſound. So ſervile was the dependence of that houſe on the executive power, and ſo little ſolicitous were they to conceal their dependence, that if the king's ſpeech had contained the line, 'What beauties does Flora diſcloſe!' he doubted not but the addreſs would have filled up the couplet by repeating, 'How ſweet are her ſmiles upon Tweed!' The miniſters had loſt the two hands of the empire in the proſecution of this frantic and ineffectual war; by a continuance of it they would riſk the head. Such a conduct reſembled, if it did not indicate, the violence of inſanity. Could the houſe ſo far forget their dignity, and relinquiſh their underſtanding, as not to reſiſt this madneſs? Would they entruſt lunatics with the management of the public purſe? Would they place the ſword within their hands, and bid them uſe it at their DISCRETION?"

General

General Conway declared himſelf "anxious for a recall of our fleets and armies from America. Of two evils he would chooſe the leaſt, and ſubmit to the independence of America, rather than perſiſt in the proſecution of ſo pernicious and ruinous a war. As to the idea now ſuggeſted of a war of poſts, what garriſons (he aſked) would be able to maintain them, when it was well known that even ſir Henry Clinton, at New York, did not conſider himſelf as ſecure?"

Mr. Fox remarked, "that four years ago, after the diſaſter of Saratoga, the noble lord at the head of affairs had amuſed the houſe with the ſame language. Then the plan of future hoſtilities was to be differently modified, and the war conducted on a ſmaller and more contracted ſcale. On this contracted ſcale, however, we had loſt another great army, beſides ſuffering other grievous defeats and irretrievable calamities."

Mr. Pitt reprobated with the utmoſt force of language, "as a ſpecies of obſtinacy bordering upon madneſs, the idea of any further proſecution of the American war, with our fleets oppoſed by a ſuperior force, and our armies in captivity. He appealed to the whole houſe, whether every deſcription of men did not deteſt and execrate the American war, and whether it were uncharitable to implore the Almighty to ſhower down his vengeance

geance on the men who were the authors of their country's ruin?"

The impreſſion made by the ſucceſſive ſpeeches of the principal leaders in oppoſition in this debate was too great to be concealed; but the eſtimates, as originally moved, were at length voted by a conſiderable majority.

Nearly at this time a petition was preſented by the city of London to the king, in which the calamities reſulting from the war are ſtated in terms peculiarly impreſſive and eloquent. In concluſion they ſay, "We beſeech your majeſty no longer to continue in a deluſion from which the nation has awakened, and that your majeſty will be graciouſly pleaſed to relinquiſh entirely and for ever the plan of reducing our brethren in America by force. And we do further humbly implore your majeſty, that your majeſty will be graciouſly pleaſed to diſmiſs from your preſence and councils all the adviſers, *both public and ſecret*, of the meaſures we lament, as a pledge to the world of your majeſty's fixed determination to abandon a ſyſtem incompatible with the intereſt of the crown and the happineſs of your people."

Soon after the receſs of parliament, Mr. Fox renewed his former motion of cenſure againſt the firſt lord of the Admiralty; and ſuch ſtrength had the oppoſition now acquired, that in a houſe of near

near four hundred members it was rejected by a majority of only twenty-two. The unpopularity of the American ſecretary was ſo great and manifeſt, that he now thought it expedient, ſeeing parliamentary cenſures likely to become again in faſhion, to reſign the ſeals of that department—and for his *eminent ſervices* he was by his majeſty raiſed to the dignity of the peerage. But before the great ſeal was affixed to the patent, the marquis of Carmarthen moved, in the houſe of peers, "that it was highly derogatory to the honor of that houſe, that any perſon laboring under the ſentence of a court-martial, ſtyled in the public orders iſſued by his late majeſty 'a cenſure much worſe than death,' and adjudged unfit to ſerve his majeſty in any military capacity, ſhould be recommended to the crown as a proper perſon to ſit in that houſe."

The motion was evaded by the queſtion of adjournment; but lord George Germaine having actually taken his ſeat in the houſe under the title of Lord Viſcount Sackville, the marquis of Carmarthen renewed his attack, and urged, "that the houſe of peers being a court of honor, it behoved them to preſerve that honor uncontaminated, and to mark in the moſt forcible manner their diſapprobation of the introduction of a perſon into that aſſembly who was ſtigmatized in the orderly books of every regiment in the ſervice."

Lord Abingdon, who ſeconded the motion, ſtyled the admiſſion of lord George Germaine to a peerage "an inſufferable indignity to that houſe, and an outrageous inſult to the public.—What," ſaid his lordſhip, "has that perſon done to merit honors ſuperior to his fellow-citizens? His only claim to promotion was, that he had undone his country by executing the plan of that accurſed inviſible, though efficient cabinet, from whom as he received his orders, ſo he had obtained his reward."

Lord Sackville, in his own vindication, denied the juſtice of the ſentence paſſed upon him, and affirmed "that he conſidered his reſtoration to the council board, at a very early period of the preſent reign, as amounting to a virtual repeal of that iniquitous verdict."

The duke of Richmond ſtrongly defended the motion, and ſaid "that he himſelf was preſent at the battle of Minden, and was ſummoned on the trial of lord George Germaine; and had his depoſition been called for, he could have proved that the time loſt when the noble viſcount delayed to advance, under pretence of receiving contradictory orders, was not leſs than *one hour and a half*; that the cavalry were a mile and a quarter only from the ſcene of action; and it was certainly in his lordſhip's power to have rendered the victory, important as it was, far more brilliant

brilliant and decisive; and he had little reason to complain of the severity of the sentence passed upon him."

Lord Southampton also, who, as aid-de-camp to prince Ferdinand on that memorable day, delivered the message of his serene highness to his lordship, vindicated the equity of the sentence.

The motion was likewise powerfully supported by the earl of Shelburne, the marquis of Rockingham, and other distinguished peers.

On the division, nevertheless, it was rejected by a majority of ninety-three to twenty-eight voices: but to the inexpressible chagrin of lord Sackville, a protest was entered on the journals of the house, declaring the promotion of his lordship to be "a measure fatal to the interests of the crown, insulting to the memory of the late sovereign, and highly derogatory to the dignity of that house."

Mr. Fox, on the 20th of February, 1782, again brought forward his motion of censure, somewhat varied, on lord Sandwich, which was negatived by a majority of nineteen voices only, in a house consisting of 453 members; but, to the astonishment of the nation, the noble lord still daringly kept possession of his office, although 217 members of the house of commons had pronounced him "guilty of a shameful mismanage-

ment of the naval affairs of Great Britain." The oppoſition appearing every day to gain ſtrength in the houſe of commons, the downfall of the miniſtry began at length to be confidently predicted.

On the 22d of February, general Conway moved "for an addreſs to the king, earneſtly imploring his majeſty, that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to liſten to the humble prayer and advice of his faithful commons, that the war on the continent of North America might no longer be purſued, for the impracticable purpoſe of reducing that country to obedience by force." This was oppoſed in a long ſpeech by Mr. Welbore Ellis, the new ſecretary for the American department, who declared, "that it was now in contemplation to contract the ſcale of the war, and to proſecute hoſtilities by ſuch means as were very diſſimilar from the paſt. That *unhappy faction* in America which ſtill continued its reſiſtance to the government of this kingdom, though *leſs numerous than the party of the royaliſts*, could only be *rooted out* by puſhing the war with vigor againſt France. In order to obtain peace with America we muſt vanquiſh the French; and as in the late war America had been ſaid to be conquered in Germany, ſo in this America muſt be conquered in France. In preſent circumſtances, the adminiſtration were conſcious of

the

the neceſſity of drawing into a narrow compaſs the operations of the American war, a change of circumſtances demanding a correſpondent change of meaſures." That this miſerable mixture of falſehood and folly ſhould fail to make impreſſion upon the houſe cannot be deemed wonderful, and the miniſtry themſelves ſeemed to deſpair of their cauſe, when they committed the defence of it to ſo contemptible an advocate;—whom Mr. Burke, in reply, overwhelmed with the ſupercilious and poignant diſdain of his ridicule. "This war," Mr. Burke ſaid, "had been moſt amazingly fertile in the growth of new ſtateſmen; the right honorable gentleman was indeed an old member, but a young ſecretary. Having however ſtudied at the feet of Gamaliel, he had entered into full poſſeſſion of all the parliamentary qualifications by which his predeceſſor had been ſo conſpicuouſly diſtinguiſhed;—the ſame attachments, the ſame antipathies, the ſame extravagant deluſions, the ſame wild phantoms of the brain, marked the right honorable gentleman as the true miniſterial heir and reſiduary legatee of the noble viſcount. And notwithſtanding the metamorphoſis he had recently undergone, he was ſo truly the ſame thing in the ſame place, that juſtly might it be ſaid of him, '*alter et idem naſcitur.*' Being of the caterpillar ſpecies, he had remained the deſtined time within the

ſoft and ſilken folds of a lucrative employment, till, having burſt his ligaments, he fluttered forth the butterfly miniſter of the day." On a diviſion, however, the miniſtry had ſtill a *majority*, but a fearful majority of ONE voice only! the numbers being 192 for, and 193 againſt, the motion; ſo that the pyramidal edifice of miniſterial power ſeemed now, by a marvellous and magical inverſion, to reſt upon its apex.

Mr. Fox immediately gave notice, that in a few days the queſtion would be revived under another form. Accordingly, on the 27th of February, general Conway moved, "That it is the opinion of this houſe, that a farther proſecution of offenſive war againſt America would, under preſent circumſtances, be the means of weakening the efforts of this country againſt her European enemies, and tend to increaſe the mutual enmity ſo fatal to the intereſts both of Great Britain and America." The general ſpoke with indignation of the objection urged againſt the laſt motion, that it was an unconſtitutional interference in matters pertaining to the executive power. He ſaid, it had been ever the cuſtom of that houſe to interpoſe its advice whenever it thought proper, in all matters of peace and war, as their journals incontrovertibly proved.

In order to evade an immediate determination upon

upon the queſtion, the attorney-general Wallace moved, "that a bill ſhould be prepared, enabling his majeſty to conclude a truce with America, and to enter into a negotiation on this ground." This propoſition was negatived by a majority of 19, the numbers being 234 to 215; and the original motion of general Conway was then carried without a diviſion.

The general next moved an addreſs to the king, founded on the preciſe words of the motion. This was agreed to; and it was reſolved that the addreſs ſhould be preſented to his majeſty by the whole houſe; which was accordingly done on the firſt of March: and his majeſty moſt graciouſly replied, "That, in purſuance of the advice of the houſe of commons, he would aſſuredly take ſuch meaſures as ſhould appear to him moſt conducive to the reſtoration of harmony between Great Britain and her *revolted* colonies."

This not being deemed by the now glorious majority of the houſe ſufficiently explicit, general Conway on the 4th of March moved another addreſs to his majeſty, returning him thanks for his gracious aſſurances, and affirming, "That nothing could ſo eſſentially promote the great objects of his majeſty's paternal care, as the meaſures his faithful commons had humbly though earneſtly recommended to his majeſty."

This was agreed to NEM. CON. and by a ſecond motion it was reſolved, "That the houſe will conſider as enemies to his majeſty and the country all thoſe who ſhould adviſe a proſecution of offenſive war on the continent of North America." The glory of general Conway, who had ſixteen years before reſtored peace to the empire by the repeal of the Stamp Act, was now complete.

The miniſter giving notice of his intention to poſtpone for ſome days laying before the houſe the additional taxes, which were to pay the intereſt of the new loan of thirteen millions and a half, Mr. Burke ſeized the occaſion to obſerve, "that he lately had been taking a view of the bleſſed fruits of the noble lord's adminiſtration; and he had found we were already loaden with ten new taxes, viz. beer, wine, ſoap, leather, houſes, coaches, poſt-chaiſes, poſt-horſes, ſtamps, and ſervants. It was indeed no wonder that the miniſter ſhould be at a loſs about new taxes, for what freſh burdens could he add to this unhappy nation? We were already taxed if we rode, or if we walked; if we ſtaid at home, or if we went abroad; if we were maſters, or if we were ſervants. In the courſe of the noble lord's adminiſtration we had expended one hundred millions of money, and ſacrificed one hundred thouſand lives, and all this without producing in return the

the leaſt benefit to the nation. On the contrary, the nation had been, in conſequence of the wretched miſconduct of the miniſter, deprived of thirteen colonies, to which might be added the loſs of Senegal, Penſacola, Minorca, and ſome of our beſt Weſt-India Iſlands."

Notwithſtanding the late majorities in the houſe of commons in oppoſition to the miniſters, they ſeemed to entertain no thoughts of reſigning thoſe offices which they had ſo long and ſo undeſervedly enjoyed. It was therefore thought neceſſary to move a direct vote of cenſure upon them, at the cloſe of a ſeries of reſolutions brought forward by lord John Cavendiſh on the eighth of March, importing, as the reſult of the whole, "that the chief cauſe of all the national misfortunes is want of foreſight and ability in his majeſty's miniſters."

The motion was ſeconded by Mr. Powys, who remarked, "that the noble lord at the head of affairs had declared, that whenever parliament ſhould withdraw its confidence from him, he would reſign. That period was now come. The confidence of parliament was now withdrawn. It was therefore neceſſary that he ſhould retire from power; and, whenever the happy moment ſhould arrive, in which the noble lord, to the unſpeakable joy of the nation, ſhould really go to his ſovereign to reſign his employments,

ments, he hoped he would not forget to lay before the king a fair repreſentation of the flouriſhing ſtate in which he found his majeſty's empire when the government of it was intruſted to his hands, and the ruinous condition in which he was about to leave all that remained of it." After a long debate, the order of the day was moved, and, on a diviſion, was carried by a majority of ten voices, the numbers being 226 to 216.

In a few days a reſolution was moved by ſir John Rous, member for Suffolk, a man once zealouſly attached to the preſent miniſtry, "that the houſe, taking into conſideration the debt incurred and the loſſes ſuſtained in the preſent war, could place no farther confidence in the miniſters who had the direction of public affairs." A vehement debate enſued, in the courſe of which a ſpeech was made by ſir James Marriot, judge of the court of Admiralty, vindicatory of the miniſtry and of the war, which he aſſerted was juſt in its origin, however unfortunate in its conſequences. "And though it had been *pretended*, that the inhabitants of America were not repreſented in parliament, the fact, he ſaid, was certainly otherwiſe; for the grant and charter of the lands of the province of Virginia, with which the ſubſequent grants correſponded, were expreſſed in the following terms: 'To have

have and to hold of the king or queen's majeſty, as part and parcel of the manor of Eaſt Greenwich in the county of Kent, *reddendum* a certain rent at our caſtle of Eaſt Greenwich, &c.' ſo that the intereſts of America were in truth, by the nature of their tenure, repreſented in parliament by the knights of the county of Kent." This aſtoniſhing *legal* diſcovery was received by the houſe with much leſs gravity than it was communicated by the learned judge, who ſeemed not to be at all aware, that no authority of law could give weight to folly, or reſpectability to nonſenſe. On the diviſion, the numbers were 227 for, and 236 againſt the motion. But with ſuch a majority victory was defeat.

Four days after this, March 19, the earl of Surry had propoſed to move a reſolution of ſimilar import to that of ſir John Rous. But when his lordſhip was about to riſe, lord North addreſſed himſelf to the ſpeaker, and ſaid, "that as he underſtood the object of the noble lord's motion to be the removal of miniſters, he wiſhed to prevent the neceſſity of giving the houſe farther trouble by an explicit declaration, THAT HIS MAJESTY HAD COME TO A DETERMINATION TO MAKE AN ENTIRE CHANGE OF ADMINISTRATION: and he and his colleagues only retained their official ſituations till other miniſters were appointed to occupy their places. His

His lordſhip thanked the houſe for the indulgence he had experienced from them in the diſcharge of his duty, and declared himſelf ready to anſwer to his country for his conduct whenever he ſhould be called upon for that purpoſe." Lord Surry conſented, not without reluctance, and by a lenity moſt pernicious in its conſequences, upon this communication, to wave his motion, which, he declared, "was intended to prevent the farther perpetration of thoſe abuſes of their truſt, to which, with impunity, and to the diſgrace and detriment of the ſtate, the *late miniſters* had for ſuch a length of time proceeded." Thus was this famous, or, to uſe a term more characteriſtically appropriate, this infamous adminiſtration, ſo long the bane and curſe of the Britiſh empire, and of the world at large, ſuddenly and totally diſſolved, to the inexpreſſible joy of all ranks and orders of people. It was however by many feared that great difficulty would ariſe in the formation of a new and efficient adminiſtration, on account of the unfortunate diviſion which had long ſubſiſted among the Whigs in oppoſition to the court. Of the two parties, that of lord Rockingham was by far the moſt numerous and powerful; but, from various cauſes eaſily and diſtinctly aſcertainable by attentive obſervers, the other party, of which, ſince the death of lord Chatham, the earl of Shelburne

burne was accounted the head, were in leſs disfavor with the king;—and the higheſt department of government was upon this occaſion expreſsly offered to that nobleman by his majeſty. For, not to deſcend to ſubordinate reaſons of preference, it is evident that the chief of the inferior party, lord Shelburne, would, from his comparative weakneſs of connection, have been more immediately and neceſſarily dependent than his competitor lord Rockingham upon the crown for protection and ſupport. But the noble lord had the generoſity and wiſdom to reſiſt the temptation; and the marquis of Rockingham, to the univerſal ſatisfaction of the kingdom, was a ſecond time, in a manner the moſt honorable and flattering to his character and feelings, placed at the head of the Treaſury; under whom lord John Cavendiſh acted as Chancellor of the Exchequer; the earl of Shelburne and Mr. Fox were nominated Secretaries of State; lord Camden was appointed Preſident of the Council; the duke of Grafton reinſtated as Lord Privy-ſeal; admiral Keppel, now created Lord Keppel, placed at the head of the Admiralty; general Conway, of the Army; the duke of Richmond, of the Ordnance. The duke of Portland ſucceeded lord Carliſle as Lord-lieutenant of Ireland; Mr. Burke was conſtituted Paymaſter of the Forces; and colonel Barré, Treaſurer of the Navy. Lord Thurlow

Thurlow alone, by the unaccountable and unmerited indulgence of the new miniſters, continued in poſſeſſion of the great ſeal. Whiggiſm was now once more triumphant. The Tories, though they eſcaped by a critical reſignation the direct cenſure of the houſe of commons, had continued in office till they were reduced to the loweſt extremity of ſhame, humiliation, and contempt; and a fair proſpect, after a long night of ſtorms and darkneſs, *ſeemed* to open, of a bright and brilliant day of national proſperity.

The firſt act of the new adminiſtration was to ſignify by a letter from Mr. Fox to M. Simolin, the Ruſſian ambaſſador, his Britannic majeſty's willingneſs to accept the mediation offered by the empreſs for a ſeparate accommodation with Holland, on the baſis of the treaty of 1674. But this their High Mightineſſes thought proper to decline; and conſidering how much Holland was at this time in the power of his Moſt Chriſtian majeſty, whoſe troops were now in actual poſſeſſion of the ſettlement of the Cape, and the iſland of Euſtatius, a compliance was ſcarcely to be expected. On the contrary, Mr. Adams was at this period formally acknowledged and received by the States General as miniſter plenipotentiary to the United States of America. Negotiations for a general peace were almoſt immediately

immediately commenced between France and Great Britain, and Mr. Grenville was ſent to Paris, inveſted with full powers to treat with all the parties at war.

Previous to the change of adminiſtration, ſir Henry Clinton had reſigned to ſir Guy Carleton his command in America, which he had held ſince the reſignation of ſir William Howe in the ſpring of 1778, an interval of near four years, in all which time ſir Henry had only taken one town and loſt another; and the conqueſt of Charlestown, in the general eſtimate of ſubjugation, was fully counterbalanced by the evacuation of Newport and the other Britiſh poſts in Rhode Iſland. Inſtructions were now ſent to the new commander and admiral Digby, to acquaint the congreſs of the pacific views of the Engliſh court, and of their readineſs to treat on the baſis of American independence.

Bills formerly introduced, and negatived, were at a very early period after the appointment of the new miniſter revived by Mr. Crew and ſir Philip Jennings Clerke, for diſabling revenue officers from voting at elections, and excluding contractors from the houſe of commons. Theſe now paſſed with approbation and applauſe; Mr. Secretary Fox declaring, that not an hour ſhould be loſt in giving the public the ſtrongeſt proofs that his majeſty's miniſters were ſincerely determined

determined to make ſuch reforms as ſhould be neceſſary, and to enforce that ſyſtem of government which they had repeatedly called for when not in place. He ſaid his worſt ſuſpicions of the negligence and ſcandalous miſmanagement of the late miniſters were now matured into knowledge; that, bad as things had been deſcribed, the repreſentation was by no means ſo bad as the reality. And he ſhould not think that the preſent miniſters acted fairly or honeſtly by that houſe, or by the people at large, if they did not inſtitute enquiries which might give the country a true and correct idea of the preſent ſituation of affairs.

Theſe bills were vehemently though ineffectually oppoſed in the houſe of peers by the lord-chancellor, who ſeemed to hang as a dead weight on the meaſures of the preſent adminiſtration, whoſe ſentiments could never aſſimilate with thoſe of men of liberal and comprehenſive views, and who now appeared as the avowed and determined enemy of every ſpecies of civil or political reform. The attention of parliament was however ſoon occupied by affairs of much higher moment.

In the month of November laſt, Mr. Grattan, a diſtinguiſhed member of the Iriſh parliament, had moved for a limitation of the perpetual Mutiny Bill. This was rejected by a great majority,

majority, extremely to the diſſatisfaction of the people of that kingdom.

At a ſubſequent meeting of the repreſentatives of one hundred and forty-three corps of volunteers aſſembled at Dungannon, RESOLUTIONS paſſed, DECLARATORY of the RIGHTS of IRELAND, and in expreſs terms aſſerting, "that the claim of any body of men, other than the KING, LORDS, and COMMONS of IRELAND, to make laws to bind that kingdom, was unconſtitutional and illegal, and a grievance of which it was their decided and unalterable determination to ſeek the ſpeedy and effectual redreſs. They knew," they ſaid, "their duty to their ſovereign, and were *diſpoſed* to be *loyal*; but they knew alſo what they owed to themſelves, and were RESOLVED TO BE FREE."

In a very ſhort time after theſe reſolves paſſed, Mr. Grattan moved the houſe for an addreſs to his majeſty, conſonant with, and founded upon, the ſame principles. This motion, after a long and warm debate, was alſo rejected. But, on the 16th of April, 1782, he again moved "a Declaration of Rights, under the form of an addreſs to the throne." In his ſpeech on this occaſion, he pronounced an animated panegyric on the volunteers, and the late conduct of the Iriſh nation—"He beheld," he ſaid, "with joy and admiration, her progreſs from injuries to arms,

from arms to liberty. The Iriſh volunteers had ſupported the rights of the Iriſh parliament againſt thoſe temporizing truſtees who would have relinquiſhed them. Allied by liberty ſtill more than by allegiance, Great Britain and Ireland formed a conſtitutional confederacy. The perpetual annexation of the two crowns was a powerful bond of union, but Magna Charta was more efficacious ſtill. It would be eaſy any where to find a king, but to England only can we look for a conſtitution. Ireland was planted by Britons, and was entitled to Britiſh privileges. It was by charter, and not by conqueſt, as had been falſely aſſerted, that the mutual connection of the two countries was originally eſtabliſhed. Every true Iriſhman would ſay, Liberty with England, if England is ſo diſpoſed; but at all events LIBERTY. The Iriſh nation were too high in pride, character, and power, to ſuffer any other nation to claim a right to make their laws. Was England ready to acknowledge the independency of America, and would ſhe refuſe liberty to Ireland? If ſhe was capable, after enabling his majeſty to repeal the Declaratory Act againſt America, of wiſhing to retain that againſt Ireland, the Iriſh nation was not capable of ſubmitting to it." Such was the ſpirit which now pervaded the kingdom, and ſuch the reſiſtleſs enthuſiaſm excited

cited by the eloquence of Mr. Grattan, that the addreſs was voted without a diſſentient voice; and, being unanimouſly acceded to by the peers, was immediately tranſmitted to the king. In this famous addreſs the two houſes affirm, "That the crown of Ireland is an imperial crown, inſeparably annexed to the crown of Great Britain, on which connection the intereſt and happineſs of both countries eſſentially depend: but that the kingdom of Ireland is a diſtinct kingdom, with a parliament of her own, the ſole legiſlature thereof. In this right they conceived the very eſſence of their liberty to exiſt. It was a right which they, in behalf of all the people of Ireland, claimed as their birthright, and which they could not yield but with their lives." They declared, "that they conſidered the claims of the parliament of Great Britain, in the act paſſed for better ſecuring the dependency of Ireland, to be reconcileable to the fundamental rights of that nation." They added, "that they had a high veneration for the Britiſh character, and the people of Ireland did not deſire to ſhare the freedom of England without likewiſe ſharing her fate;—and it was their determination to ſtand or fall with the Britiſh nation."

Happy indeed was it that a radical change of counſels had taken place in Britain before theſe

high and peremptory, though just and equitable, claims were preferred on the part of Ireland; for the folly, obstinacy, and pride, of the late ministers would scarcely have scrupled to involve the empire in a second civil war, rather than have conceded in points which militated so strongly against what they would undoubtedly have styled "the honor and dignity of the crown, and the essential interests of the people."

Some days previous to the motion of Mr. Grattan, a royal message was delivered to the house of commons by the secretary of state, "recommending to their most serious consideration the state of affairs in Ireland, in order to such a final adjustment as may give a mutual satisfaction to both kingdoms." And on the 18th of May, Mr. Fox, at the close of a long and able speech, moved for the repeal of the obnoxious act for securing the dependency of Ireland; which he called "a measure of necessity, refuting, however unpleasant it might be to some, from the conduct of the late ministry, who had awakened the present spirit in Ireland, by refusing their most modest and reasonable requests. With that generosity and openness of sentiment by which this eminent statesman has been so long and so remarkably distinguished, Mr. Fox observed nevertheless "that his own decided opinion had always been, that Ireland, being a part of the British empire,

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was entitled to the full and equal participation of all the benefits and immunities enjoyed in England, and which were conſonant to the principles of the Britiſh conſtitution. His ideas of Ireland correſponded (he ſaid) exactly with his ideas relative to America. He thought it abſurd and unjuſt for any country to pretend to legiſlate for another, without, much leſs againſt, their conſent and concurrence;—nor could it at any time ſo legiſlate to any good purpoſe. As to Ireland, he made no ſcruple, in the moſt expreſs and unequivocal terms, to declare, that he conſidered her preſent claims to be ſubſtantially juſt, and that he felt himſelf inclined to move the reſolution which he was about to propoſe in favor of Ireland, as much on the ground of juſtice as prudence." This repeal, which paſſed both houſes without oppoſition, was conſidered in both countries as a virtual renunciation of the claim of legiſlating for Ireland. And ſo highly gratified were the Iriſh parliament and nation with the liberality of theſe conceſſions, that a vote of the houſe of commons in that kingdom paſſed unanimouſly for raiſing twenty thouſand ſeamen for the ſervice of the Britiſh navy.

On the 15th of April another meſſage was delivered to the houſe by Mr. Fox from the king, ſtating, "That his majeſty, taking into conſideration the ſupplies which have been given with

ſo much liberality, and ſupported with ſuch uncommon firmneſs and fortitude by his people in the preſent extenſive war, recommended to his faithful commons the conſideration of an effectual plan of œconomy throughout all the branches of the public expenditure." An addreſs of thanks was then moved for, and immediately agreed to by the houſe; at the cloſe of which it was ſaid, "That a king of Great Britain cannot have ſo perfect or ſo honorable a ſecurity for every thing which can make a king truly great or truly happy, as in the genuine and natural ſupport of an uninfluenced and independent houſe of commons." This was language novel and highly pleaſing to the reſpectable part of the public, who had been ſo long nauſeated by the fulſome adulation of the addreſſes preſented of late years to the throne, ſo contrary to the ſpirit of freedom, which requires the repreſentatives of the people to reſpect the majeſty of the people, and to uſe language conſonant to the high and dignified ſituation in which they themſelves are placed.

In conſequence of this meſſage, Mr. Burke's Reform Bill was a third time brought forward, under far more favorable auſpices than before. By this bill, which now paſſed the houſe with little difficulty, the Board of Trade, and the Board of Works, with the Great Wardrobe, were aboliſhed; together with the office of American

rican ſecretary of ſtate, now rendered uſeleſs by the loſs of the American colonies;—the offices of treaſurer of the chamber, cofferer of the houſehold, the lords of police in Scotland, the pay-maſter of the penſions, the maſter of the harriers, the maſter of the ſtag-hounds, and ſix clerks of the Board of Green-cloth. Proviſion alſo was made to enable his majeſty to *borrow* a ſum for the liquidation of a new arrear of three hundred thouſand pounds, by a tax on ſalaries and penſions; for a debt to this amount had been again contracted by the ſhameful prodigality of the late miniſters, notwithſtanding the addition of one hundred thouſand pounds per annum ſo recently made to the civil liſt. In the courſe of the ſpeech made by Mr. Burke on the revival of this popular meaſure, the ſtyle of this gentleman's oratory was obſerved to be marvellouſly changed. Already had this lofty and intrepid patriot become a complete adept in the *precious jargon* current within the verge and purlieus of a court. Mr. Burke "congratulated the houſe and the kingdom on the happy æra when his majeſty, freed from that ſecret and injurious council which ſtood between him and his people, now ſpake to them in the pure and rich benevolence of his own heart. The meſſage which they had juſt heard was the genuine effuſion of his majeſty's paternal care and tenderneſs of his ſubjects. It was what

the whole body of electors in the kingdom." Mr. Wilkes, in a public letter addreſſed to his conſtituents, "congratulated them on the ſignal reparation they had now obtained for their violated franchiſes, and the injuries they had ſuſtained under the former flagitious adminiſtration. But on this point the feelings of the public were no longer in uniſon with thoſe of Mr. Wilkes. The vote by which thoſe reſolutions were reſcinded, which had thirteen years before thrown the whole nation into a flame, was ſcarcely noticed; and the caſe of the Middleſex election was now regarded with nearly as much indifference as that of any other elective deciſion.

In the ſame month a ſubject of infinitely higher importance, and of a nature truly and permanently intereſting, was brought under the immediate cognizance of the houſe, in conſequence of a motion made by Mr. Pitt for the appointment of a committee to enquire into the ſtate of the repreſentation of the people in parliament. It is remarkable, that, notwithſtanding the prodigious and glaring inequality of the national ſyſtem of repreſentation as now conſtituted, the idea of a parliamentary reform may be conſidered in great meaſure as a novelty in politics. The patriots of elder days, ſenſible of the dangers ariſing from the rapid and enormous increaſe of the regal influence, ſtrongly and repeatedly urged the reme-

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dial meaſures of triennial parliaments, of civil and military reductions, of place and penſion bills; but it was a ſpecies of merit reſerved for the preſent times to ſtrike at the root of the evil, by an effort to extend and equalize that popular repreſentation, on the purity and integrity of which the national proſperity and welfare ſo eſſentially depend.

The evils attending this defective and corrupt ſtate of the repreſentation had at no former period of our hiſtory been ſo flagrantly apparent as in the preſent reign; and it was with grief and indignation that the intelligent and independent part of the public ſaw the houſe of commons degenerate into an aſſembly apparently poſſeſſing neither will, nor power, nor wiſdom, but what they derived from the permiſſion and *fiat* of the miniſter, who alſo frequently appeared himſelf the ſport of ſome capricious and inviſible agent. The affair of the Middleſex election, otherwiſe comparatively unimportant, wore in this view a moſt alarming aſpect, as it ſhewed how far the houſe would venture to carry their complaiſance to the crown in oppoſition to the decided, unanimous, and perſevering reſiſtance of the people. "The virtue, ſpirit, and eſſence of a houſe of commons," ſays Mr. Burke in his famous political tract publiſhed at that period *,

* Thoughts on the Cauſes of the preſent Diſcontents.

"conſiſts

"consists in its being the express image of the feelings of the nation. A addressing house of commons, and a petitioning nation—a house of commons full of confidence when the nation is plunged in despair, who vote thanks when the nation calls upon them for impeachments, who are eager to grant when the general voice demands account, who in all disputes between the people and administration presume against the people, who punish their disorders, but refuse to enquire into the provocations to them,—this is an unnatural, a monstrous state of things in this constitution. Such an assembly is not to any popular purpose a House of COMMONS."

The obstinate prosecution of the American war, and the contemptuous dismission of the petitions for a reform in the public expenditure, afforded still more recent and striking instances of obsequious and unlimited devotion on the part of the national representatives to the executive power, and their total disregard of the sentiments of their constituents. So struck was the late earl of Chatham with the obvious and manifold mischiefs arising from the present incongruous system, that he scrupled not to hazard a peremptory prediction, "that the *rotten boroughs* would not survive the present century—and that, if parliament did not reform itself from WITHIN, it would be reformed with a VENGEANCE from WITHOUT." Nevertheless

theleſs it muſt be acknowledged there were not wanting many wiſe and excellent perſons, true and firm friends to liberty, whoſe minds forcibly revolted at the novelty and boldneſs of the idea of *new-modelling* the repreſentation of the country. They conceived the actual advantages reſulting from the conſtitution, when *rightly adminiſtered*, under the preſent form, too great to riſk any experiment, however plauſible in theory, of ſuch magnitude as to draw after it conſequences which no human ſagacity could pretend to trace or fathom.

Totally to annihilate the influence of the crown in the houſe of commons would give ſuch an aſcendency to the republican part of the conſtitution, that the prerogative of the monarch would in a ſhort time be reduced to as low an ebb as the authority of a king of Poland or a doge of Venice; the executive power would loſe its weight and energy, and the ſtate would be torn with the oppoſite and equal claims of hoſtile and contending factions. To aſcertain the preciſe degree of influence which the monarch ought to poſſeſs, was indeed confeſſed to be a difficult problem to ſolve. It is the radical and remedileſs defect of the Britiſh form of government, in other reſpects ſo admirable, that too much depends on the perſonal character of the ſovereign; and under the reign of a weak, obſtinate, and bigoted prince, intoxicated with the pomp and pride of royalty,

royalty, ſuch as imagination can eaſily feign, the excellence of that celebrated conſtitution may be put to a very ſevere teſt indeed—particularly if, by an accidental concurrence of circumſtances, ſuch a monarch, thus palpably unfit to govern, ſhould riſe to high and undeſerved popularity.

On the other hand, it may doubtleſs happen that the executive power may poſſeſs juſter and more enlightened views of policy than the nation at large; and a more popular ſyſtem of repreſentation would in ſuch circumſtances be a real and ſerious evil. This was remarkably the caſe in the reigns of king William and king George I. who exerted with very incomplete ſucceſs their utmoſt influence to extend and enlarge the general ſyſtem of liberty. The grand object of every conſtitution of government which aſpires on rational grounds to political perfection is not, as the wild and viſionary ſpeculatiſts of modern times abſurdly ſuppoſe, to carry the will of the majority at all events into effect, but to concentrate the wiſdom, the knowledge, and the virtue of the community; to endow them with influence, and arm them with power. Above all, it excited the alarm of the moderate, the judicious, and truly enlightened, that a great proportion, perhaps a majority, of the advocates for a parliamentary reform maintained the exiſtence of certain abſtract rights independent of utility,

utility, which is in truth the baſis both of right and obligation—in conformity to which the people had a clear, original, and impreſcriptible claim to the privilege of UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE, without the exerciſe of which it was pretended that no liberty could exiſt.

The duke of Richmond, who had ſignalized himſelf as a public and zealous patron of this ſcheme, expreſsly ſays, in his famous letter to colonel Sharman, chairman of the military convention at Dungannon, "that all plans of a merely ſpeculative nature, not tending to the effectual recovery of their RIGHTS, neither could nor *ought* to influence the people in their favor." His grace, in conformity to theſe ſentiments, declares, "that he did not think himſelf *at liberty* to ſpeculate on the ſubject, for that every man not laboring under natural or moral diſability had an inherent *right of ſuffrage* paramount to all conſiderations of civil or political expediency *."

To

* In the ſeſſion of 1780 the duke of Richmond had himſelf prepared, and offered to the houſe of peers, a bill for a reform of parliament on the baſis of annual election and univerſal ſuffrage; on which occaſion his grace declared "the repreſentation of the people to be flagrantly and groſsly corrupt. He ſaid, that the conſtitution had been impaired, and was daily impairing, by the accumulation of abuſes; and that the tendency of the prevailing ſyſtem was to make the will of the ſovereign the rule and meaſure of the government. He even affirmed the parliament then ſitting to be NO PARLIAMENT

To this new ſpecies of *divine right*, therefore, all the inferior and vulgar conſiderations of public good, of public order, of peace, happineſs, and rational ſubordination, muſt bow with reverential awe; but it is evident that this inherent right of ſuffrage cannot exiſt alone. It neceſſarily involves in it a right to command, countermand, and diſmiſs, their repreſentatives at pleaſure. If the people have an inherent abſtract right to elect, then the exerciſe of this right muſt be determined by the ſame abſtract rules of political juſtice—and an equal number of electors muſt return an equal number of repreſentatives; in other words, population is the ſole baſis of repreſentation—If therefore the metropolis be ſuppoſed to contain one ſixth of the entire population of the kingdom, and the repreſentative body to conſiſt of ſix hundred individuals, London might on this abſtract metaphyſical hypotheſis plead an inherent indefeaſible right to ſend one hundred members to parliament. Other large and populous towns poſ-

MENT AT ALL, becauſe it was not founded on that principle which could alone conſtitute them the legitimate repreſentatives of the people." The bill was indeed ſubſequently dropped, probably as a meaſure little calculated for the diſcuſſion of the houſe of peers. But the ſame bold and dangerous principles were uniformly avowed and inculcated by this nobleman; and, under his ſanction, they acquired great credit and currency.

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ſeſſing a ſimilar right to elect in the ſame proportion, a combination of local and particular intereſts would be formed, totally incompatible with the general intereſts of the community. But where ſhall we ſtop? or how ſhall the monarchical or ariſtocratical parts of our conſtitution be maintained againſt theſe ſovereign and indefeaſible rights—theſe paramount and tranſcendent claims?

All theſe groſs and dangerous abſurdities, involving in them the moſt alarming conſequences, proceed from the fatal error of confounding the power of the people with the liberty of the people. To liberty they have a right, ſo far as it is promotive of happineſs; and to power, ſo far, and ſo far only, as it is a ſecurity to liberty. For, to the blind, capricious, and ſelf-deſtructive will, even of the majority, it is ever lawful—nay more, it is in the higheſt degree laudable—it is indeed the pureſt and nobleſt act of virtue—at the greateſt perſonal riſk to oppoſe the dictates of reaſon, equity, and juſtice. Allowing, however, the full force of theſe general arguments, it could not be denied that the influence of the crown, firſt ſyſtematically employed as an engine of government by ſir Robert Walpole, had in this reign extended itſelf far beyond all its antient bounds and limits. Under that juſtly celebrated miniſter alſo, this influence, however

corruptly obtained, was *upon the whole* employed wiſely and well; but ſince the commencement of the NEW SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT, which was in fact no other than the old Tory ſyſtem revived and varniſhed, it had been perverted to the moſt vile and pernicious purpoſes*. It was no wonder, therefore, that a meaſure which was regarded as alone adequate to the effectual reduction of this influence ſhould be purſued with zeal and ardor.

Early in the preſent year it was reſolved by the city of London, aſſembled in common-hall, "That the unequal repreſentation of the people, the corrupt ſtate of parliament, and the perverſion thereof from its original inſtitution, had been the principal cauſes of the unjuſt war with America, and of every grievance of which the nation complained." Similar reſolutions were paſſed by the county of York, and many other counties and cities; and after ſo long and bitter an experience of the evils ariſing from the preſent defective ſtate of the repreſentation, it would indeed have argued not ſo much a wiſe and well-weighed caution, as a reproachful exceſs of po-

* Sir Robert Walpole was accuſtomed to ſay, "that he was under the neceſſity of bribing men to act not againſt, but according to, their conſciences." And, allowing largely for the latitude of the expreſſion, this apology muſt be admitted as in a great degree founded in truth.

litical

litical timidity in the nation, to have hesitated in applying the most permanent and efficacious remedy. "We have been told with peculiar emphasis," says an animated writer, "that what seems excellent in theory is absurd in practice. From the frequent repetition of this maxim, and the manner in which it is applied, one would almost suspect that the meaning is, to recommend as an axiom, To avoid every new measure which, to our feeble and circumscribed understandings, seems likely to produce a good effect." The motion of Mr. Pitt, though eloquently enforced by the mover, and supported by Mr. Fox with a great display of discrimination and judgment, was rejected, notwithstanding its present popularity, on a division, by a majority of 161 to 141 voices.

Hitherto the new ministry, though composed of dissonant and jarring materials, had conducted public affairs with at least the appearance of perfect and cordial unanimity—the earl of Shelburne in the upper house bringing forward the same motions, and supporting them by the same general arguments, as Mr. Fox in the lower. But an event now took place which was the subject of deep and universal regret, and the consequences of which cannot be sufficiently deplored, in the death of the marquis of Rockingham, July 1, 1782, in the meridian of his

age, and at the very height of his political reputation—the weight and influence attached to which, the result of a steady and uniform adherence to the principles of liberty under every vicissitude of fortune, combined with the excellence of his private character, and the mild benignity of his manners, formed that power of attraction which held together the whole ministerial system; and when this ceased to operate, disorder, confusion, and mutual repulsion took place. The splendor of the new constellation faded, and "certain stars shot *madly* from their spheres."

To drop all metaphorical and poetical allusion, it is necessary to state in plain language, that, on the very day succeeding the decease of the marquis of Rockingham, the earl of Shelburne was declared first lord commissioner of the Treasury. The acceptance of this high and pre-eminent office, without any previous communication with his colleagues in administration, was considered by the Rockingham party as equivalent to a declaration of political hostility on the part of lord Shelburne. It was in effect telling his allies that he conceived his influence in the cabinet to be sufficiently strong to enable him to stand without their assistance. It was evidently setting up a distinct and opposite interest, depending upon the secret assurances of royal favor and

and ſupport. Preciſely the ſame reaſons which had induced the earl of Shelburne three months before to decline the offer then made ſtill exiſted in full force; but he was no longer proof againſt temptation—though the experience of his illuſtrious friend lord Chatham might have convinced him on how precarious a ground thoſe miniſters ſtood who depended on courtly promiſes and profeſſions for protection and ſafety.

On this promotion, Mr. Fox reſigned the ſeals as ſecretary of the northern department; lord John Cavendiſh his office as chancellor of the Exchequer; the duke of Portland his government of Ireland; lord Althrop, lord Duncannon, Mr. Frederic Montague, &c. their ſeats at the boards of Treaſury and Admiralty; and Mr. Burke his poſt of paymaſter of the army. In conſequence of theſe reſignations and removes, the ſeals of the ſouthern department were given to the earl of Grantham, and of the northern to Mr. Thomas Townſhend, late ſecretary at war; ſir George Yonge ſucceeded Mr. Townſhend; colonel Barré was made paymaſter of the forces; and the lord advocate of Scotland, in his room, treaſurer of the navy. The earl of Temple, eldeſt ſon of the late George Grenville, ſucceeded the duke of Portland in the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland; but the promotion which attracted moſt of the public attention was that of

Mr. William Pitt, who, at the age of three-and-twenty, was conſtituted chancellor of the Exchequer—an office which had been always ſuppoſed to require, in order to its proper diſcharge, not ſo much brilliancy of talents, as long previous ſtudy and experience, and confirmed habitudes of diligence and induſtry.

It was evident from ſeveral of the late promotions that a mixture of the *old leaven* was again ominouſly introduced into the preſent *Whig Adminiſtration*, to which, notwithſtanding the late ſeceſſion, the names of lord Camden, general Conway, the dukes of Grafton and Richmond, lord Keppel, and others, gave great reſpectability—*excluſive* of the new premier himſelf, whoſe public conduct had been uniformly conſiſtent and meritorious, who had never deviated in any inſtance from the principles of genuine Whiggiſm, whoſe political knowledge was extenſive, whoſe abilities were unqueſtionable, and whoſe general rectitude of intention the public had no juſt ground to doubt. The only charge brought againſt the miniſter, which ſeemed to make any conſiderable impreſſion, was that which accuſed him of the habitual and ſyſtematic practice of a certain duplicity and *fineſſe*, which entirely precluded all open, ingenuous, and confidential intercourſe.

In a few days ſubſequent to his reſignation, Mr.

Mr. Fox ſtated in the houſe of commons the grounds and reaſons of his conduct. He ſaid, "that political differences of opinion had taken place of great importance in the cabinet, and that he had withdrawn himſelf from it to prevent that diſtraction in the public councils which he conceived to be ruinous to the public welfare. He had reaſon, he affirmed, to believe that the day was come when the ſyſtem on which the adminiſtration of lord Rockingham had been formed was to be abandoned, and a new ſyſtem was to be ſubſtituted, or rather the old one revived, with the aſſiſtance of the *old men*, or indeed of any men that could be found.—NOR SHOULD HE WONDER IF IN A SHORT TIME THEY WERE JOINED BY THOSE VERY PERSONS WHOM THAT HOUSE HAD PRECIPITATED FROM THEIR SEATS. He therefore choſe to reſign, voluntarily relinquiſhing the pomps, the profits, and the patronage of office, as he could no longer continue in place with honor to himſelf, or benefit to the public."

General Conway, in reply, "lamented the defection of the diſtinguiſhed characters who had recently withdrawn themſelves from office, at a time when their country ſo much needed their ſupport. He proteſted that he knew of no defalcation in the preſent miniſters from thoſe principles which they had originally profeſſed: nor

any diverſities of opinion in the cabinet, beyond thoſe *ſhades of difference* which muſt always ariſe amongſt men of ſtrong and independent minds."

On the following day the duke of Richmond expreſſed in the houſe of lords ſimilar regret at the late reſignations. "So long, and ſo long only, as the noble lord who now preſided at the board of Treaſury ſhould adhere to the principles on which the adminiſtration was originally formed, ſo long would he give him his cordial ſupport. Whenever theſe principles were abandoned, he would be his moſt determined opponent."

The earl of Shelburne now roſe to declare "his perfect ſatisfaction at being ſupported upon the terms ſtated by the noble duke." He ſaid, "he lamented as much as any man the death of the late marquis of Rockingham, and the loſs ſuſtained by the cabinet in the retreat of two perſons ſo remarkably diſtinguiſhed, one by the ſplendor of his abilities, the other by the unimpeached integrity of his character. The office he now held, his lordſhip affirmed, was within his graſp when the firſt arrangements were forming, but he had then given way to the noble marquis, though he had now accepted the poſt, as that nobleman was no more; and this, he believed, was the only reaſon that the late right honorable ſecretary had withdrawn himſelf. But

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if the monarch was diveſted of the power of appointing his own *ſervants*, he would be reduced to the condition of a king of the Mahrattas, who had nothing of ſovereignty but the name. He had been charged, his lordſhip ſaid, with inconſiſtency relative to America: but his opinion ſtill was, as it ever had been, that whenever the parliament of Great Britain acknowledged that point, the ſun of England's glory was ſet for ever. Other lords however thought differently, and the queſtion would ſoon come under the full and impartial diſcuſſion of parliament; but he repeated, that if parliament conceded that point, he foreſaw that England was undone; for that ruin and independence were linked together—the ruin not of England only, but of America,"

It was ſufficiently evident from this ſpeech, that more than "ſhades of difference" had exiſted in the cabinet previous to the reſignation of Mr. Fox. But it excited the utmoſt aſtoniſhment in America, that ſuch language as this ſhould be held in parliament by the firſt miniſter, after ſir Guy Carleton had been two months before expreſsly authorized to declare to the congreſs, "that his majeſty, in order to remove all obſtacles to peace, had commiſſioned Mr. Grenville to propoſe the independency of the Thirteen Provinces in the firſt inſtance, inſtead of making it

it a condition of a general treaty:" and the diſcordant language held on the different ſides of the Atlantic was indignantly cited as a new inſtance of Britiſh artifice and perfidy. As to the *right* of the king to appoint his own miniſters, on which lord Shelburne laid ſo great ſtreſs, it was entirely remote from the point in queſtion, which regarded merely the wiſdom and patriotiſm of his lordſhip's eager acceptance of an offer, which was evidently calculated to deſtroy all confidence, and to gratify the aſpiring views of a favored individual, to the extreme eventual detriment of the public.

Had the earl of Shelburne acted with openneſs and candor in the critical circumſtances in which he was placed, there is good ground to believe that his higheſt ambition might have been gratified, a ſincere and cordial union of parties formed, and a firm, efficient, and patriotic adminiſtration ultimately eſtabliſhed, uncontaminated with the deteſtable leaven of TORYISM.

On the 11th of July, 1782, the ſeſſion terminated, and the ſpeech from the throne contained the welcome declaration, "that nothing could be more repugnant to his majeſty's feelings than the long continuance of ſo complicated a war; and that his ardent deſire of peace had induced him to take every meaſure which promiſed the ſpeedieſt accompliſhment of his wiſhes."

The

The military events of the year yet remain to be narrated. The fortreſs of Gibraltar ſtill continued cloſely inveſted by the Spaniards, and the reſolute defence of the garriſon began to attract the general attention of Europe. Towards the cloſe of the preceding year, 1781, by a moſt ſpirited and ſucceſsful *ſortie*, the ſtupendous works erected by the Spaniards acroſs the iſthmus which connects the rock of Gibraltar with the continent were ſtormed and almoſt totally demoliſhed, when, after immenſe expence and labor, they were arrived at the higheſt ſtate of perfection. In leſs than half an hour, five batteries, with all the lines of approach, communication, and traverſe, were in flames—the magazines blowing up one after another, as the conflagration ſucceſſively reached them—the aſtoniſhed Spaniards offering no other reſiſtance, than a diſtant and ill directed fire from the forts of St. Philip and St. Barbara.

To balance this ſucceſs, intelligence arrived early in the ſpring of the new year, that general Murray, governor of Minorca, had been compelled, after a long and vigorous reſiſtance, to ſurrender that iſland to the arms of his Catholic majeſty. Formerly the loſs of Minorca had occaſioned the downfall of an adminiſtration; but ſuch were the infinitely greater misfortunes and diſaſters of the preſent war, that this event made little

little impreſſion upon the public, and it was ſcarcely remarked, that no attempt whatever had been made for its relief during a ſiege of one hundred and ſeventy-one days.

The iſland of Nevis, in the Weſt Indies, alſo about the ſame time ſurrendered to the marquis de Bouillé and the count de Graſſe; by whom the moſt liberal terms were granted to the inhabitants. Eight thouſand troops, with a formidable train of artillery, were then landed on the important iſland of St. Chriſtopher. Sir Samuel Hood, who now commanded the Britiſh fleet in the Weſt Indies, made ſtrenuous efforts for its relief: and, notwithſtanding his diſparity of force, in three ſucceſſive encounters with the count de Graſſe he obtained each time the advantage, and at length, by a dextrous manœuvre, gained poſſeſſion of the enemy's anchorage at Baſſeterre Road. Admiral Hood then landed a conſiderable detachment of troops from Antigua under general Preſcot; but general Frazer, the commanding officer on the iſland, who was ſtrongly poſted on an intrenched eminence, ſent him word, "that as he had taken the trouble to come with troops to his aſſiſtance, he ſhould doubtleſs be glad of the honor of ſeeing him, but he was in no want of him or his troops." Notwithſtanding this idle vaunt, he was obliged to ſurrender the iſland on capitulation, after a

ſiege

ſiege of five weeks, on the 12th of February 1782.

In the ſame month Demerary and Iſequibo were captured by the French: alſo the iſland of Montſerrat. The loſs of the Bahamas quickly followed, being reduced by a conſiderable force under Don Manuel de Cigagal, governor of the Havannah, to the obedience of the crown of Spain.

On the 19th of February ſir George Rodney arrived in the Weſt Indies with a ſtrong reinforcement of ſhips from England, and reſumed the command of the fleet. Mighty preparations were now making, both by the French and Spaniards, for the invaſion of Jamaica; and as the combined force of theſe powerful nations amounted to above ſixty ſail of the line, had a junction been effected, the iſland was irrecoverably loſt. The firſt object of the Britiſh admiral was to intercept a great convoy of troops, proviſions, and ſtores, expected from Europe: but in this he was diſappointed; the enemy found means to eſcape his vigilance, by making the iſland of Deſcada, to the northward, and keeping cloſe in ſhore under the high land of Guadaloupe and Dominique, and arrived ſafe at Fort Royal on the 21ſt of March. It was the deſign of count de Graſſe to proceed to Hiſpaniola, and join the Spaniſh admiral, Don Solano,

Solano, who was waiting his arrival, in order to make, in conjunction, the pre-concerted attack on Jamaica.

On the 8th of April, at day-break, the French fleet left the harbour of Fort Royal; and admiral Rodney, who had the earlieſt intelligence of their movements, inſtantly made the ſignal for a general chaſe. Early the next morning he came up with the enemy under Dominique, where the van of the Engliſh engaged the rear of the French, but the continued calms prevented a general or cloſe action. In the morning of the 11th a freſh gale ſprung up, and the chaſe was renewed: and towards evening the headmoſt ſhips of the van gained ſo much on one or two of the enemy's ſhips, damaged in the late action, that the count de Graſſe thought it neceſſary to bear down for the purpoſe of protecting them. Sir George Rodney, who had eagerly watched and waited for this opportunity, now manœuvred the fleet with ſuch ſkill, as to gain the windward of the enemy during the night, and entirely to preclude their retreat. At ſeven in the morning of the 12th, the two fleets, being ranged in lines directly oppoſite, engaged with the greateſt fury. The French ſhips being crowded with men, the carnage was prodigious, but no viſible impreſſion was made, or material advantage gained, till about noon, when

when ſir George Rodney in the Formidable, followed by his ſeconds the Namur and the Duke, perceiving an accidental interval which invited the attempt, bore directly with full ſail athwart the enemy's line, and ſucceſsfully broke through, about three ſhips ſhort of the centre, where the count de Graſſe commanded in the Ville de Paris. Being quickly ſupported by the remainder of his diviſion, the Engliſh commander wore round cloſe upon the enemy, and actually ſeparated their line, placing the central ſhips of the French between two fires. This bold and maſterly manœuvre proved deciſive. The French however continued to fight with the utmoſt bravery, and the battle laſted till ſun-ſet. The Cæſar was the firſt ſhip which ſtruck her colors, having loſt her captain, and being almoſt torn to pieces by her enemy's fire. Soon afterwards, by ſome unfortunate accident, ſhe blew up, and every ſoul on board periſhed. The Glorieux, the Hector, the Ardent, now followed the example of the Cæſar, and the Diadem went down by a ſingle broadſide. The count de Graſſe in the Ville de Paris, beſet on all ſides, ſtill held out with heroic bravery, and, though reduced to a wreck, ſeemed to prefer ſinking rather than ſtrike to any thing under a flag. At length admiral Hood, in the Barfleur, approached him juſt at ſun-ſet, and poured in a moſt deſtructive fire,

fire, which the count yet ſuſtained for ſome time; till having three men only left alive and unhurt on the upper deck, he at length ſtruck to his gallant antagoniſt. Night only cloſed the action: the ſhattered remains of the French fleet crowded all the ſail they could make for Cape François, and in the morning they were out of ſight. Sir Samuel Hood being detached to purſue the flying enemy, came up with five ſail off Porto Rico, and captured the Jaſon and Caton ſhips of the line, and two frigates, the third with difficulty clearing the Mona paſſage.

Unfortunately the fleet was becalmed for three days after the action, and ſir George Rodney did not eſcape cenſure for the previous dilatorineſs of his purſuit. Whether more might have been done, if more had been attempted, it is difficult, perhaps impoſſible, to determine.—"What *had* been is unknown, what *is* appears;"—and certain it is, that this was one of the moſt glorious and deciſive naval victories ever obtained by the arms of Britain.

The number of men ſlain in this action, and in that of the 9th, on the part of the French, is eſtimated at 3000 men, and the wounded were nearly double; ſo that, taking the priſoners on board the captured ſhips alſo into the computation, the French muſt have ſuſtained a loſs of ten or twelve thouſand men.

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Their fleet had on board the land forces intended for the Jamaica expedition; and the whole train of artillery, with thirty-ſix cheſts of money deſtined for the uſe and ſubſiſtence of the troops, were found on board the Ville de Paris and the other ſhips now taken.

The deſigns of the confederated powers were thus moſt completely fruſtrated, while the loſs of men, including both killed and wounded, on the part of the Britiſh did not exceed eleven hundred.

For this great victory ſir George Bridges Rodney was created a peer of Great Britain, by the title of Baron Rodney, of Rodney-Stoke in the county of Somerſet, and a perpetual annuity of 2000*l.* annexed to the title. A motion made and over-ruled in the preceding ſeſſion of parliament, and intended to have been revived by the preſent miniſtry, for an enquiry into the conduct of the naval and military commanders at St. Euſtatius, was now no more thought of; and the admiral received, as he well deſerved, the unanimous thanks of both houſes for his eminent ſervices.

The campaign of the preſent year was deſtined to be for ever ſignalized in the annals of hiſtory by another event not leſs glorious to the arms of Britain than the victory of ſir George Rodney. The favorite object of Spain, during

the whole of this war, was the recovery of the important fortreſs of Gibraltar; and after the reduction of Minorca the whole ſtrength of the Spaniſh monarchy ſeemed to be directed to this purpoſe. The duc de Crillon, conqueror of Minorca, was appointed to conduct the ſiege; and, from the failure of former plans, it was reſolved to adopt an entire new mode of operation.

A project was formed by the chevalier D'Arçon, and approved by the Spaniſh court, to conſtruct a number of floating batteries on a model which it was imagined would ſecure them from being either ſunk or fired. With this view their keels and bottoms were made of an extraordinary thickneſs, and their ſides defended by a kind of rampart, compoſed of wood and cork long ſoaked in water, and including between them a large layer of wet ſand. The roof was made of a ſtrong rope-work netting, covered with wet hides, and calculated by its ſloping poſition to prevent the ſhells and bombs from lodging, and to throw them off into the ſea before they could produce any effect. The batteries, ten in number, were made of the hulls of large veſſels cut down for the purpoſe, and mounted with heavy braſs cannon; and by a moſt ingenious mechaniſm, a great variety of pipes and canals perforated all the ſolid workmanſhip, in

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ſuch a manner as to convey a continued ſucceſſion of water to every part of the veſſels.

The preparations were enormous in other reſpects: about 1200 pieces of heavy ordnance had been brought to the ſpot, to be employed in the different modes of attack; above eighty gun-boats and bomb-ketches were to ſecond the operations of the floating batteries, with a multitude of frigates, ſloops, and ſchooners: and the combined fleets of France and Spain, amounting to fifty ſail of the line, were to cover and ſupport the attack, while they heightened the terrible grandeur of the ſcene. The numbers employed by land and ſea againſt the fortreſs were eſtimated at more than 100,000 men.

With this force, and by the fire of three hundred cannon, mortars, and howitzers, from the adjacent iſthmus, it was intended to attack every part of the Britiſh works at one and the ſame inſtant. The count d'Artois and the duc de Bourbon, the brother and couſin of the French monarch, and numerous other volunteers of high rank, had repaired to the Spaniſh camp in order to witneſs the inevitable fall of that famous fortreſs, which had ſo long bid haughty defiance to the power of Spain.

Early on the morning of the 13th of September, the ten battering ſhips, commanded by admiral don Moreno, came to an anchor in a line parallel to the rock, at the diſtance of about one

thouſand or one thouſand two hundred yards.—The ſurrounding hills were covered with people, as though all Spain were aſſembled to behold the ſpectacle. The cannonade and bombardment on all ſides, from the iſthmus to the ſea, and the various works of the fortreſs, were tremendouſly magnificent. The prodigious and unintermitted ſhowers of red-hot balls, of bombs, and carcaſſes, which filled the air, exhibited a ſcene perhaps unparalleled in military hiſtory. The whole peninſula, like ſome vaſt volcano, diſcharging on all ſides its burning lava, ſeemed enveloped in a ſheet or torrent of fire. The battering ſhips for many hours remained to all appearance unaffected; but about two in the afternoon the admiral's ſhip was obſerved to ſmoke, and ſoon after that of the prince of Naſſau was obſerved to be in the ſame condition. The whole line of attack was now viſibly diſordered. At length the day having cloſed, the two firſt ſhips appeared to be in flames, and others were beginning to kindle; and ſignals of diſtreſs were univerſally made. Captain Curtis, who commanded the Engliſh marine force in the Bay, to complete the confuſion, having advanced to the attack with his gun-boats, and raked the whole line of batteries with his fire, the Spaniſh launches, which had been employed in bringing off the men, no longer dared to appear; but were compelled, after ſeveral had been ſunk in

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the attempt, to abandon their ſhips to the flames, or to the mercy of the Engliſh.

The diſtreſs of the enemy was now wrought up to the higheſt pitch of calamity; and the Britiſh officers and ſeamen, ſeeing all reſiſtance at an end, now exerted themſelves to the utmoſt to ſave the vanquiſhed foe, and their humanity was, at the cloſe of this memorable conflict, no leſs conſpicuous than their valor. Captain Curtis, in particular, expoſed himſelf to the moſt imminent perſonal danger; and his pinnace was almoſt in contact with one of the largeſt batteries at the moment of exploſion. In the end the floating batteries were all conſumed; and the loſs of the Spaniards, excluſive of that ſuſtained by the troops on the iſthmus, was computed at 1500 men, whilſt that of the garriſon amounted to leſs than one-third of the number.

In the mean time lord Howe, who commanded the grand fleet, conſiſting of thirty-four ſail of the line, was on his paſſage from Portſmouth in order to throw ſuccours into the fortreſs. He arrived at Cape St. Vincent the 9th of October, and on the 11th he paſſed the Straits, where the combined fleets had for ſome time been ſtationed in order to intercept him; but a violent tempeſt drove them upon the Barbary coaſt, and prevented all poſſibility of attack. The St. Michael, of 72 guns, having ſeparated from the fleet, ran on

ſhore on the rock of Gibraltar, and was taken poſſeſſion of by the garriſon. After fully executing the purpoſe of his deſtination, lord Howe ſet ſail for England. The enemy making their appearance off Cape St. Vincent, October 20, the Britiſh admiral lay-to, in order to receive them; but they kept at ſo great a diſtance, that the cannonade, which laſted from about five in the afternoon till ten at night, did little damage; and his lordſhip having no preſſing reaſons for renewing the fight againſt ſo ſuperior a force, continued his voyage without farther moleſtation to Portſmouth. The governor of Gibraltar, general Elliot, for his gallant and heroic defence of that fortreſs, was raiſed to the peerage by the title of Baron Heathfield, and a penſion annexed to the title equal in amount to that granted to ſir George Rodney.

This was the laſt tranſaction of importance during the continuance of the war in Europe; and thus the military career of Britain, after her repeated misfortunes, terminated with great ſplendor and *éclat*. All the belligerent powers were now inclined to liſten to overtures of pacification. The independence of America being virtually recognized by England, and a reſolution againſt offenſive operations having paſſed the houſe of commons, the war with the colonies was in fact at an end. The original purpoſe of France

France being accompliſhed, ſhe could have no motive to perſevere in a conteſt, the expence of which was enormous, and the farther ſucceſs uncertain. Spain, after extraordinary exertions, having failed in both her grand objects, the recovery of Gibraltar, and the conqueſt of Jamaica; had little reaſon to flatter herſelf that her future efforts would be more effectual than the paſt; and Holland would have neither the inclination nor ability to continue the war alone.

During the negotiation with France and Spain, protracted chiefly in conſequence of the demand in which Spain for ſome time reſolutely perſiſted of the ceſſion of Gibraltar, proviſional articles of pacification between Great Britain and America were ſigned on the 30th of November 1782, by which the thirteen provinces were declared free and independent States; and by a boundary line very favorable to America, the whole country ſouthward of the lakes on both ſides of the Ohio, and eaſtward of the Miſſiſſippi, was ceded to the colonies, with a full participation of the fiſheries on the Banks of Newfoundland, and the Gulf of St. Laurence. In return for which the congreſs engaged to RECOMMEND to the ſeveral ſtates to provide for the reſtitution of the confiſcated eſtates of the loyaliſts. But this recommendation eventually proved, as might have eaſily been foreſeen, nugatory and uſeleſs; and this wretched

portion of his majeſty's *deluded ſubjects* migrated in great numbers to the inhoſpitable wilds of Nova Scotia and the barren ſhores of the Bahamas.

Dr. FRANKLIN, ſo lately the ſubject of the vileſt and groſſeſt abuſe, had now the glory of ſigning this treaty on the part of the United States—the intelligence of which was received in America with emotions of exultation and rapture. The definitive treaty was not however ſigned till the following year, at the cloſe of which, New York, Charlestown, and Savannah, the only places in the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh, were finally evacuated; and general Waſhington made his public entry into the firſt of theſe cities as ſoon as the royal army was withdrawn. The rejoicings on this occaſion were celebrated with patriotic enthuſiaſm; after which an affecting leave was taken by the general of the friends and companions of his warfare, who accompanied him on his return to his own province, in ſilent and ſolemn proceſſion, to the banks of the North River. When the barge quitted the ſhore, he waved his hat, bidding them for the laſt time adieu. To this valediction, fixing their regards on their beloved commander till they could no longer diſtinguiſh his perſon, they replied by acclamations intermingled with ſuppreſſed ſobs and involuntary tears. In every town and village through

through which the general paſſed he was received with the higheſt demonſtrations of gratitude and joy.

When he arrived at Annapolis, he ſignified to congreſs his intention to reſign the command he had the honor to hold in their ſervice, referring to them the mode in which it ſhould be done. They reſolved it ſhould be in a public audience. When the day fixed for that purpoſe arrived, the hall of the ſenate-houſe was crowded with perſonages of the higheſt merit and diſtinction; and general Waſhington, addreſſing the preſident in a ſpeech remarkable only for its dignified ſimplicity, "demanded leave to ſurrender into their hands the truſt committed to him, and, having finiſhed the work aſſigned him, to retire from the great theatre of action to the tranquil ſcenes of private life, earneſtly recommending to the protection of Almighty God the intereſts of his dear country, and thoſe who have the ſuperintendance of them to his holy keeping." To this addreſs the preſident replied in words to the following purport:—"The United States in congreſs aſſembled receive with emotions too affecting for utterance the ſolemn reſignation of the authority under which you have led our troops with ſucceſs through a perilous and doubtful war. Called upon by your country to defend its invaded rights, you accepted the ſacred charge before it had formed

med alliances, and whilſt it was without friends or a government to ſupport you—you have conducted the great military conteſt with wiſdom and fortitude, invariably regarding the rights of the civil power through all diſaſters and changes—you have, by the love and confidence of your fellow-citizens, enabled them to diſplay their martial genius, and to tranſmit their fame to poſterity. Having defended the ſtandard of liberty in this new world, having taught a leſſon uſeful to thoſe who inflict and to thoſe who feel oppreſſion, you retire with the bleſſings of your country; but the glory of your virtues will not terminate with your military command—it will continue to animate remoteſt ages. May the Almighty foſter a life ſo beloved with his peculiar care, and may your future days be as happy as your paſt have been illuſtrious!" The grand and intereſting ſcenes which crowded upon the imagination of the general and the preſident almoſt deprived them of the power of articulation; and the mingled emotions of joy, regret, and admiration, which agitated the minds of the ſpectators, were expreſſed more forcibly by looks and geſtures than they could have been by words.

Immediately on this reſignation, the late commander "haſtened," to uſe his own words, "with ineffable delight to his ſeat at Mount Vernon, on the banks of the Potowmac;" whence, at the powerful

powerful call of his country, he in a ſhort time again emerged in order to aſſume the high ſtation of preſident and guardian of that new and noble conſtitution which, by one of the happieſt and moſt extraordinary efforts of human virtue, wiſdom, and ability, has been ſubſtituted in America to her former feeble, inefficient, and defective form of government.

In Great Britain, to the affairs of which we muſt now revert, the ſeſſion of parliament commenced December 5, 1782, with a very excellent ſpeech from the throne, in which his majeſty, reverting after a long and inglorious ſeries of years to the genuine principles of Whig policy, declared, that he had loſt no time in giving the neceſſary orders for prohibiting offenſive operations againſt America, and had been directing his views to a cordial reconciliation with her. Such being his own inclination, and ſuch the ſenſe of his parliament and people, he had not heſitated to conclude with them proviſional articles of peace, by which they were acknowledged free and independent States. He deplored this diſmemberment of the empire, which had become a matter both of policy and prudence; but teſtified a hope that religion, language, intereſt, and affection, would yet prove a permanent tie of union between the two countries. He ſpoke with

with pride and ſatisfaction of the late gallant defence of Gibraltar: he recommended an immediate attention to the great objects of public receipt and expenditure, and above all to the ſtate of the national debt. He applauded the liberal principles which had actuated the conduct of parliament reſpecting Ireland; he preſſed a reviſion of the whole ſyſtem of trade, with a view to its fulleſt extenſion; and turning his attention to Aſia, pointed out our vaſt poſſeſſions there as a moſt important object of regulation and care. He declared that the true ſpirit of the conſtitution would be the invariable rule of his conduct, and called upon parliament to exerciſe their temper, wiſdom, and diſintereſtedneſs."

Loyal addreſſes were voted in both houſes without a diviſion; but ſome ſevere remarks having been directed in the houſe of peers againſt the inconſiſtency of the miniſter, who had at a former period ſo ſtrongly oppoſed the recognition of American independence, his lordſhip declared "that he had exerted every effort to preſerve America to this country;" and with great animation exclaimed, "that he had not voluntarily yielded up this independency—he had merely ſubmitted to the controlling power of neceſſity and fate. It was not I (ſaid he) that made this ceſſion—it was the evil ſtar of Britain—it was

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the blunders of a former adminiſtration—it was the power of revolted ſubjects, and the mighty arms of the Houſe of Bourbon."

Doubts having ariſen whether the acknowledgment of independency was abſolute or conditional, and lord Shelburne declining to communicate any particulars of a negotiation actually pending, Mr. Fox moved in the houſe of commons an addreſs to the king, to lay before the houſe copies of ſuch parts of the proviſional articles as related to the ſame; but this was oppoſed as inexpedient and improper, not only by the chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Pitt, but by the late miniſter lord North; and the queſtion being put, Mr. Fox's motion was negatived by a majority of 219 againſt 46—a diviſion perhaps fatal to the miniſter, by inſpiring him with high and lofty ideas of his own ſtrength and ſecurity.

On the 23d of December the parliament, after voting one hundred thouſand ſeamen and marines for the ſervice of the enſuing year, adjourned to the 21ſt of January, 1783—the day preceding which preliminary articles of peace were ſigned between Great Britain, France, and Spain, which immediately after the receſs were ſubmitted to the conſideration of the two houſes. By this treaty Great Britain guarantied to France the iſland of Tobago, and reſtored that of St. Lucia; alſo the ſettlements of Goree and Senegal in Africa;

Africa; and the city of Pondicherri, with her other conqueſts in the Eaſt, accompanied by ſome additions of territory. Laſtly, the claims of Britain reſpecting Dunkirk were expreſsly relinquiſhed; and on her part, France agreed to reſtore, Tobago excepted, all her valuable and important conqueſts in the Weſt Indies. His Catholic majeſty was allowed to retain Minorca and Weſt Florida, Eaſt Florida being alſo ceded in exchange for the Bahamas. Theſe iſlands had however already been recovered to the dominion of Great Britain in conſequence of the ſucceſs of an adventurous enterpriſe, gallantly conducted by colonel Devaux, without the knowledge, and much leſs the ſupport or aſſiſtance of government. Holland having rejected the former advances of the Engliſh court towards an accommodation, it was reſolved that ſhe ſhould not eſcape with total impunity; and the Britiſh plenipotentiaries were directed to offer the reſtitution of the Dutch ſettlements in the poſſeſſion of England, with the important exception of Trincomalee, which their High Mightineſſes declared they could not reconcile with the profeſſions of moderation on the part of his Britannic majeſty. On the other hand, Holland demanded an indemnification for the loſſes and expences of the war—a pretenſion which the Engliſh negotiators peremptorily rejected as totally inadmiſſible. Theſe oppoſite claims

claims for the preſent impeded the concluſion of the treaty with that power; but the preliminaries of peace actually ſigned were laid before the two houſes of parliament by the ſecretaries of ſtate, lord Grantham and Mr. Townſhend, on the 17th of February, and in both they met with a very violent and unexpected oppoſition.

An addreſs of thanks and approbation being moved in the houſe of peers by lord Pembroke, and ſeconded by the marquis of Carmarthen, a ſucceſſion of able and eloquent ſpeeches were made by the lords Carliſle, Walſingham, Sackville, Stormont, and Loughborough, reprobating the preliminaries of peace as derogatory from the dignity, and in the higheſt degree injurious to the intereſts, of the nation. "The dereliction of the loyaliſts of America, and the Indians our allies, was ſaid to be a baſeneſs unexampled in the records of hiſtory. In the loweſt ebb of diſtreſs we ought not to have ſubſcribed to terms ſo ignominious. Francis I. when conquered and a captive, wrote, 'that all was loſt except his honor;' and his magnanimity finally re-eſtabliſhed his fortune. The folly of our negotiations was every-where apparent. In Africa, our trade was ſurrendered to France by the ceſſion of Senegal and Goree—in Aſia, Pondicherri was not only given back, but, to render the boon more acceptable, a large territory was made

made to accompany it—in America, the prohibitions againſt fortifying St. Pierre and Miquelon were removed, and the limits of the French fiſhery extended—and, under pretence of drawing a boundary line, the treaty grants to the United States an immenſe tract of country inhabited by more than twenty Indian nations—in the Weſt Indies, St. Lucia was relinquiſhed, which was of ſuch military importance, that, ſo long as we retained this iſland in our hands, we might well have ſtood upon the *uti poſſidetis*, as the baſis of negotiation in that quarter—the ceſſion of Eaſt Florida to Spain was an extravagance for which it was impoſſible to find even the ſhadow of a pretence—To complete the whole, France was allowed to repair and fortify the harbour of Dunkirk, which, in the event of a future war, might annoy our trade in its centre, and counteract all the advantage of our local ſituation for foreign commerce;—and, what is moſt wonderful, all theſe ſacrifices are made on the profeſſed ground of arranging matters on the principles of RECIPROCITY."

The miniſter defended himſelf from theſe various attacks with great vigor and ability. His lordſhip declared, "that PEACE was the object for which the nation at large had diſcovered the moſt unequivocal deſire; the end he had in view was the advantage of his country, and he was certain that

that he had attained it. The vaſt uncultivated tract of land to the ſouthward of the lakes (his lordſhip ſaid) was of infinite conſequence to America, and of none to England; and the retention of it, or even of the forts which commanded it, could only have laid the foundation of future hoſtility. If our liberality to Ireland was the ſubject of juſt applauſe, why act upon principles of illiberality to America? The refuſal of the Newfoundland fiſhery would have been a direct manifeſtation of hoſtile intentions; and as it lay on their coaſts, it was in reality impoſſible to exclude them from it by any reſtrictions; it is an advantage which nature has given them, and to attempt to wreſt it from them would not only be unjuſt but impracticable. Of one objection his lordſhip acknowledged that he deeply felt the force. His regret and compaſſion for the ſituation of the unhappy loyaliſts were as pungent as thoſe of their warmeſt advocates. This objection admitted only of one anſwer, the anſwer which he had given to his own bleeding heart—'It is better that a part ſhould ſuffer, rather than the whole empire periſh.' He would have daſhed from him the bitter cup which the adverſities of his country held out to him, if peace had not been abſolutely neceſſary—if it had not been called for with an unanimity and vigor that could not be reſiſted. No arts of addreſs or negotia-

tion had been neglected, but the American commiſſioners had no power to concede farther. The congreſs itſelf had not the power—for, by the conſtitution of America, every ſtate was ſupreme, including in itſelf the legiſlative and judicial powers; its juriſdiction, therefore, was not liable to controul. In the mode of interpoſition, by recommendation alone could the congreſs act. If, after all, the loyaliſts ſhould not be received into the boſom of their native country, Britain, penetrated with gratitude for their ſervices, and warm with the feelings of humanity, would afford them an aſylum; and it would doubtleſs be wiſer to indemnify them for their loſſes, than to ruin the nation by a renewal or prolongation of the calamities of war. The ceſſion of Eaſt Florida (his lordſhip ſaid) was rendered unavoidable, by the miſtaken and ruinous policy of thoſe miniſters who had brought the nation under the miſerable neceſſity of treating with its enemies on terms very different from thoſe it could formerly have commanded. This province, detached from Weſtern Florida, already conquered by the arms of Spain, was however of trivial value; and the amount of its imports and exports bore no proportion to the expence of its civil eſtabliſhment. We had, nevertheleſs, obtained a compenſation in the reſtitution of the Bahamas. Although the bounds of

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the French fiſhery were ſomewhat extended, by far the moſt eligible parts of the Newfoundland coaſt were left in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh, and a ſource of future contention removed by the exact aſcertainment of limits. In exchange for St. Lucia, France had reſtored ſix of the ſeven iſlands ſhe had taken, and only retained Tobago —Senegal and Goree had been originally French ſettlements, but their commerce was inconſiderable; and the whole African trade was open to the Engliſh, by our ſettlements on the River Gambia, which were guarantied to us by this treaty. The reſtoration of Pondicherri, and of our other conqueſts in the Eaſt, muſt be acknowledged not a meaſure of expediency ſo much as of abſolute neceſſity, if the ſtate of the Eaſt-India Company were adverted to. Such had been the formidable confederacy againſt which they were compelled to contend, ſuch the wretched derangement of their finances, and ſo expoſed to hazard were their vaſt and precarious poſſeſſions, that nothing but peace could recover to them their aſcendency in Aſia: in ſuch a ſituation it was impoſſible to procure terms of accommodation more honorable. The removal of the reſtraints relative to the harbour of Dunkirk—reſtraints diſgraceful to France, and of trifling advantage to England—was inveighed againſt without candor or reaſon. Dunkirk, as a port,

was (as his lordſhip aſſerted) far from poſſeſſing the conſequence aſcribed to it; it lies near a ſhoaly part of the Channel; it cannot receive ſhips of a large ſize, and can never be a rendezvous for ſquadrons; it may indeed be a reſort for privateers, but theſe we know by experience could eaſily iſſue from other ports. In fine, the confederacy formed againſt us was decidedly ſuperior to our utmoſt exertions—our taxes were exorbitant—our debts, funded and unfunded, amounted to two hundred and forty-ſeven millions—our commerce was rapidly declining—our navy was overbalanced by the fleets of the combined powers, in the alarming proportion of more than fifty ſhips of the line. Peace was in theſe circumſtances neceſſary to our exiſtence as a nation. The beſt terms of accommodation which our ſituation would admit had been procured; and his lordſhip ventured to affirm, that they could be decried or oppoſed only by ignorance, prejudice, or faction." On a diviſion, the addreſs was carried by a majority of 72 to 59 voices.

A ſimilar addreſs in the houſe of commons was moved by Mr. Thomas Pitt, and ſeconded by Mr. Wilberforce, who urged in ſtriking and impreſſive language the expediency, the neceſſity, and advantages of peace. On which lord John Cavendiſh roſe and declared, "that he alſo profeſſed himſelf an advocate for peace; but the queſtion

queſtion was not whether a peace were neceſſary, but whether a better peace might not have been obtained—this was a queſtion which called for a ſerious deliberation. As the whole of the evidence proper to be produced was not before the houſe, it was expedient to pauſe and heſitate. He propoſed therefore to annex to the addreſs the following words: "His majeſty's faithful commons will proceed to conſider of the treaties with that ſerious and faithful attention which a ſubject of ſo much importance to the preſent and future intereſts of his majeſty's dominions deſerves; aſſuring his majeſty, nevertheleſs, of their firm and unalterable determination to adhere inviolably to the ſeveral articles for which the public faith is pledged."

This amendment was ſeconded by Mr. St. John, member for the county of Bedford, and ſupported, with all the power of his eloquence, by lord North. "The addreſs," this nobleman ſaid, "called for a vote of approbation, and he had no ſuch vote to give; for he conſidered the peace as diſhonorable and deſtructive. His lordſhip wiſhed not, however, to ſet negotiations aſide which had been concluded under the ſanction of prerogative, nor to put thoſe who adviſed them under PERIL of PUNISHMENT."

Such was the *candor* of the noble lord, and ſuch his *indulgence* to thoſe guilty of the crime of

reſcuing the nation from the ruin which impended over it, as the inevitable reſult of that fatal ſyſtem patroniſed and ſupported by the noble lord and his colleagues, till the patience and credulity of an abuſed and exaſperated people were at length exhauſted. He who, by his own wretched miſconduct, had created the neceſſity for making the ſacrifices in queſtion, ought ſurely in decency to have been the laſt man in the nation who ſhould have ſuggeſted the profligate idea of putting thoſe who adviſed them under PERIL of PUNISHMENT.

Mr. Fox now roſe, and declared "his perfect concurrence with the ſentiments expreſſed by the noble lord; and in ſtill more bitter terms reprobated the peace as the moſt diſaſtrous and humiliating that had ever diſgraced any country. He had been accuſed (he ſaid) of having formed an union with the noble lord whoſe principles he had oppoſed for ſeveral years of his life; but the grounds of their oppoſition were removed, and he did not conceive it to be honorable to keep up animoſities for ever. He was happy at all times to have a proper opportunity to bury his reſentments, and it was the wiſh of his heart that his friendſhips ſhould never die. The American war was the ſource of his diſagreement with the noble lord; and, that cauſe of enmity being now no more, it was wiſe and fit

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to put an end to the ill-will, the animoſity, the feuds, and the rancor, which it engendered. It was a ſatisfaction to him to apply the appellation of FRIEND to the noble lord; he had found him honorable as an adverſary, and he had no doubt of his openneſs and ſincerity as a friend."

By a very great and reſpectable part of the houſe, this declaration, which opened a perfectly new ſcene of things, was moſt indignantly received. Mr. Powys ſaid, "This was the age of ſtrange confederacies. The world had ſeen great and arbitrary deſpots ſtand forth as the protectors of an infant republic—France and Spain had combined to eſtabliſh the riſing liberties of America. The houſe now ſurveyed the counterpart of this picture—a MONSTROUS COALITION had taken place between a noble lord and an illuſtrious commoner—the lofty aſſertor of the prerogative had joined in alliance with the worſhippers of the majeſty of the people." On the diviſion the effect of this *monſtrous coalition* was immediately viſible, there appearing for the amendment 224 againſt 208 voices.

On the 21ſt of February lord John Cavendiſh moved a ſeries of reſolutions, importing—"1. That, in conſideration of the public faith, his majeſty's faithful commons will aſſiſt him in rendering the peace permanent. 2. That, in concurrence with his majeſty, they will endeavour to

improve the bleſſings of peace to the advantage of the nation. 3. That his majeſty, in acknowledging the independency of America, has acted in conformity to the ſenſe of parliament, and to the powers veſted in him by the act of the laſt ſeſſion. 4. That the conceſſions made to the adverſaries of Great Britain by the proviſional treaty, and the preliminary articles, are greater than they were entitled to, either from the actual ſituation of their reſpective poſſeſſions, or from their comparative ſtrength."

A vehement debate aroſe on the laſt of theſe reſolutions; the merits of the peace were anew diſcuſſed; and the coalition, now openly avowed and gloried in, again underwent the ſevereſt crimination, and the moſt poignant ridicule. Lord North, elated with the proſpect not merely of perfect impunity, but of a re-admiſſion to the power and emoluments of office, ventured to expreſs, in high language, "his amazement at the reflections which had been thrown out againſt him. He did not (he ſaid) repent of his conduct while a miniſter; conſcious of his own innocence, he bade defiance to cenſure or puniſhment. Proud as he was of the coalition to which he had been invited, it ſhould be underſtood that he was not diſpoſed to make any ſacrifice of his public principles. He dreaded no accuſation, and he dared his enemies, whatever might

might be their abilities, their influence, and their character, to be deciſive, and to proceed againſt him"—expreſſions ſurely theſe, conſidering the calamities brought upon the nation by the groſs and flagrant miſconduct of this miniſter, in the higheſt degree indecent and inſolent. The queſtion being put, was carried againſt the miniſtry by a majority of 207 voices to 190.

From this time it was obvious that ſome change in adminiſtration muſt inevitably take place; but the court hoped that a partial change might ſuffice. Various conferences were held on the ſubject of a new arrangement; but the COALITION, knowing their own ſtrength, were determined not to deviate in any point from their pre-concerted plan. More than a month paſſed in a kind of miniſterial interregnum, and the want of an efficient government began to be ſeriouſly and ſeverely felt. At length Mr. Coke, member for Norfolk, moved an addreſs to the king, "that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to take into conſideration the diſtracted and unſettled ſtate of the empire, and condeſcend to a compliance with the wiſhes of this houſe, by forming an adminiſtration entitled to the confidence of his people." This was unanimouſly carried, and preſented to the king by ſuch members of the houſe as were privy-counſellors. His majeſty replied, "that it was his earneſt deſire

to

to do every thing in his power to comply with the wiſhes of his faithful commons." This anſwer not giving ſatisfaction, lord Surry moved in a few days another addreſs, framed in very ſtrong and pointed terms—"aſſuring his majeſty that all delays in a matter of this moment have an inevitable tendency to weaken the authority of his government; and *moſt humbly entreating* his majeſty that he will take ſuch meaſures towards this object as may quiet the anxiety and apprehenſion of his faithful ſubjects." But Mr. Pitt declaring that he had reſigned his office of chancellor of the Exchequer, and that any reſolution or addreſs relative to a new arrangement of adminiſtration was unneceſſary, lord Surry conſented to withdraw his motion: and the miniſters, who, reluctant to quit the luxury of power, had lingered in office to the laſt moment, now gave place to their determined and victorious antagoniſts.

The duke of Portland was placed at the head of the Treaſury; and lord John Cavendiſh was re-appointed chancellor of the Exchequer; lord NORTH and Mr. FOX were nominated JOINT SECRETARIES of STATE, the firſt for the home, the latter for the foreign department; lord Keppel, who had recently reſigned on account of his diſapprobation of the peace, was again placed at the head of the Admiralty; lord Stormont

mont was created preſident of the council; and lord Carliſle was advanced to the poſt of lord privy-ſeal. The great ſeal was put into commiſſion—the chief-juſtice Loughborough, ſo diſtinguiſhed for political verſatility, "who could change and change and yet GO ON," being declared firſt lord commiſſioner; the earl Northington was appointed to the government of Ireland; and Mr. Burke reinſtated in his former poſt of paymaſter of the forces. Of the ſeven cabinet miniſters, the majority, who alſo occupied the moſt important poſts of adminiſtration, were of the old Whig or Rockingham party;—lord Stormont, lord North, and lord Carliſle, contenting themſelves rather with a participation of honors and emoluments than of power.

Notwithſtanding the admiſſion of theſe Tory lords therefore into the miniſtry, it could not but be acknowledged, as to all the grand purpoſes of government, a WHIG adminiſtration—more eſpecially when the ability, the vigor, and the deciſion of its *efficient leader* were juſtly and impartially eſtimated. But, moſt unfortunately, no impartial eſtimate of the merits of this novel and heterogeneous arrangement could be hoped. The PUBLIC CONFIDENCE was loſt; and univerſal experience confirms the obſervation of a celebrated writer, "that the public confidence, once loſt, is NEVER completely regained." The coalition

coalition was the theme of univerſal and paſſionate execration. All thoſe bitter and opprobrious expreſſions of contumely and reproach againſt the late miniſter, lord North, with which the ſpeeches of Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke had been for ſo many years filled, were now recalled to the general recollection, and excited a degree of anger, indignation, and amazement, which had not been equalled ſince the memorable and infamous defection of Mr. Pulteney. When lord Chatham, in one of his laſt ſpeeches in parliament, "wiſhed that the VENGEANCE of the NATION might fall HEAVY upon the MINISTERS;" when Mr. Fox declared, "that he would purſue even to the SCAFFOLD the authors of the PUBLIC RUIN;" and when Mr. Burke affirmed, "that he had articles of IMPEACHMENT actually framed againſt lord North, whom he ſtigmatized as a STATE CRIMINAL;" great allowance ought doubtleſs to be made for that warmth and ardor of patriotic zeal which might prompt them to exceed the too preciſe limits of a ſtrict and ſober diſcretion. The late miniſters, it muſt be acknowledged, had done nothing for which they could juſtly incur legal puniſhment. But a parliamentary vote of cenſure and condemnation of thoſe meaſures and principles which had brought the nation to the brink of perdition was eagerly wiſhed for by the independent and intelligent

intelligent part of the public; and ſome ſatisfactory aſſurance anxiouſly expected for the removal of men ſo unqualified for the taſk of government from his majeſty's preſence and councils FOR EVER,—ſending them into ignominious retirement, with the CURSES of their COUNTRY upon their HEADS.

Lord Chatham, on receiving, not long before his deceaſe, repeated and high-ſtrained profeſſions of amity and regard from lord Bute, apparently intended to cover ſome inſidious and political purpoſe, replied without heſitation, "that it was impoſſible for him to ſerve the king and country either with lord Bute or lord North; and that if any thing could prevent the conſummation of public ruin, it could only be new counſels and new counſellors—a real change, from a ſincere conviction of paſt errors, and not a mere palliation, which muſt prove fruitleſs." There are no doubt ſituations of extraordinary difficulty and danger which call for the united exertions of thoſe who have been moſt oppoſite in ſentiments and conduct: but the nation was not at this time diſpoſed to believe that any peculiar danger to the country exiſted under the adminiſtration of the earl of Shelburne, who, whether in or out of office, had uniformly ſhewn himſelf a friend to liberty. The terms of the peace were generally deemed as good

good as there was any previous reaſon, from the relative ſituation of the belligerent powers, to expect; and the COALITION of perſons and principles radically hoſtile, and which no effort of art, or length of time, could aſſimilate, was univerſally branded as a groſs and palpable ſacrifice of every ſentiment of honor, conſiſtency, and rectitude, on the altar of ambition, intereſt, and revenge *.

One of the firſt meaſures of the new miniſtry was to expedite the paſſing of a bill, before pending, "for the purpoſe of preventing any writs of error or appeal from the kingdom of

* On the firſt intelligence of this aſtoniſhing coalition, lord Camden remarked to a nobleman of the higheſt rank, with whom he had been many years on terms of intimate friendſhip, and who, after a long courſe of political conflict, had ſought and found wiſdom, virtue, and happineſs, in the ſhades of retirement, "There is now an end of all public confidence in public men. Miniſters for the next half century are freed from all reſtraint, and may bid defiance to all oppoſition." To the ſame purpoſe the celebrated D'Avenant, ſpeaking of the ſuppoſed defection of thoſe from the cauſe of liberty who had been looked up to and relied upon as its moſt zealous defenders, ſays: "Men, finding themſelves thus forſaken, would believe they were bought and ſold; they would imagine there was no ſuch thing as virtue and honeſty remaining; they would think all pretenſions to the public good to be nothing but deſigns of ambitious perſons to lift themſelves up to high honors upon the ſhoulders of the people: and when nations have before their eyes an *armed power*, and none in whom they can put any truſt, they ſeldom fail of ſubmitting to the yoke."

Ireland

Ireland from being received by any of his majeſty's courts in Great Britain; and of renouncing, in expreſs terms, the legiſlative authority of the Britiſh parliament in relation to Ireland." This was a neceſſary conſequence of the general plan of Iriſh emancipation; for the mere repeal of the Declaratory Act did not, in the view of the common law, make any difference whatever in the relative ſituation of the two countries.

Soon after this, a bill was introduced by ſir Henry Fletcher, chairman of the Eaſt-India Company, "for ſuſpending the payments of the Company now due to the Royal Exchequer, and for enabling them to borrow the ſum of three hundred thouſand pounds for their farther relief."

Lord John Cavendiſh declared this bill to be only a branch of a larger plan; and that it was brought forward ſeparately, in order to anſwer an exigency which did not admit of delay. His lordſhip viewed the territorial acquiſitions of the Company as a fruitful ſource of grievance. "It would (he ſaid) have been more for their advantage had they confined themſelves to the character of merchants. As theſe acquiſitions, however, had been made, they muſt be preſerved, and it was his opinion that the relief neceſſary to the Company ſhould be granted."

Lord Fitzwilliam, in the upper houſe, dwelt on

on the almoſt deſperate ſituation of the Eaſt-India Company, and affirmed, "that, unleſs it paſſed, their bankruptcy would be inevitable. The expenditure of their ſettlements had far exceeded their revenue: bills had been drawn upon them which they were unable to anſwer without a temporary ſupply, ſo that the exiſtence of the Company depended upon the ſucceſs of the bill;" which accordingly paſſed both houſes with little difficulty or oppoſition.

In the month of April, 1783, the chancellor of the Exchequer brought forward his plan for raiſing twelve millions by loan. The moſt remarkable circumſtance attending it was, that the money borrowed was funded at three per cent. at the extravagant rate of one hundred and fifty pounds ſtock for every hundred pounds ſterling; ſo that an artificial capital of ſix millions was created beyond and above the ſum actually paid into the Exchequer. This abſurd and pernicious mode of funding was expoſed and reprobated with much ability by Mr. Pitt in the lower houſe, and the earl of Shelburne in the upper, but with no effect.

The former motion of Mr. Pitt for an enquiry into the ſtate of the repreſentation being negatived, he now brought forward, May 7, a ſpecific plan for adding one hundred members to the counties, and aboliſhing a proportionable number

of

of the burgage-tenure and other ſmall and obnoxious boroughs. This plan, though able and honorably ſupported by Mr. Fox, was negatived by a great majority; the numbers on the diviſion being 293 to 149. Mr. Fox declared that in his opinion the conſtitution required renovation; and he regarded it as one of its chief excellencies that it was capable of continual improvements, by involving in itſelf a renovating principle. It might thus be gradually carried to the higheſt attainable perfection. As there muſt of courſe ever be a ſtronger oppoſition againſt any ſpecific plan of reform in the firſt inſtance, than to a comprehenſive and general motion of enquiry only, the latter is evidently the moſt politic as well as reaſonable mode of introducing the queſtion to the notice and diſcuſſion of the houſe; and had it been adopted by Mr. Pitt on this occaſion, it could not have ſo egregiouſly failed of ſucceſs. The motion was oppoſed in a very able ſpeech by lord North, who with an happy alluſive pleaſantry declared, "that, while ſome with LEAR demanded an hundred knights, and others with Goneril were ſatisfied with fifty, he with Regan exclaimed, No, not ONE!" His lordſhip, in a graver and more argumentative ſtrain, ſaid, "It was not true that the houſe of commons had not its full and proper weight in the ſcale of government;—his political life was

a proof that it had. It was parliament that had made him a minister. He came amongst them without connection. It was to them he was indebted for his rise, and they had pulled him down;—he had been the creature of their opinion and of their power;—his political career was consequently a proof of their independence;—the voice of the commons was sufficient to remove whatever was displeasing to the sentiments and wishes of the country; and in such a situation to *parade* about a reformation was idle, unnecessary, inexpedient, and dangerous." This reasoning might perhaps have had some degree of weight, could it be lost to the public recollection, that the noble lord was originally advanced to the premiership by the *fiat* of the *executive power*, and was continued in office, during the first and last years of his administration at least, by the influence of the same power, in daring contrariety to the clear, unanimous, and decided sense of the nation. His lordship's compulsive resignation at the last proved only that there are limits, beyond which even the complaisance of the representative body does not extend: and the infatuation of the ministers became at length so notorious, that parliament alarmed at their rashness, and astonished at their folly, happily and critically interposed to save the nation from destruction.

A bill

A bill for regulating the trade of the African Company being introduced towards the close of the ſeſſion, with a clauſe prohibiting the officers of the company from *exporting negroes*, that humane, intelligent, and reſpectable claſs of citizens known by the appellation of Quakers, convened in their annual aſſembly in the metropolis, embraced this favorable occaſion to petition the houſe of commons, "That the clauſe in queſtion might be extended to all perſons whatſoever; profeſſing themſelves deeply affected with the conſideration of the rapine, oppreſſion, and blood, attending this traffic.—Under the countenance of the laws of this country," ſay the petitioners, "many thouſands of theſe our fellow-creatures, entitled to the NATURAL RIGHTS OF MANKIND, are held as perſonal property in cruel bondage. Your petitioners regret, that a nation profeſſing the Chriſtian faith ſhould ſo far counteract the principles of humanity and juſtice." This petition excited in a remarkable degree the attention of the houſe and of the public, and laid the foundation of the ſubſequent noble and generous efforts, to effect a total abolition of this deteſtable commerce, and reſtore to the common rights of humanity that deſpiſed and unfortunate race born only to miſery, and to whoſe wretched and moſt compaſſionable lot it has fallen "to plough

the winter's wave and reap deſpair." Much buſineſs, comprehending details not ſufficiently important to demand a place in general hiſtory, having been completed, the parliament was at length prorogued, July 16, by a ſpeech in which his majeſty intimated his intention of calling them together at an early period, in order to reſume the conſideration of the affairs of the Eaſt Indies, which would demand their moſt ſerious and unintermitted attention.

In the courſe of the ſummer, the king, as legally empowered by an act paſſed for that purpoſe, iſſued an order in council, limiting the commerce between the continent of America and the Britiſh Weſt-India iſlands to ſhips Britiſh built. This was conformable to the grand principle on which the Act of Navigation was originally founded; and though this reſtriction gave extreme offence to the inhabitants of the United States, they could not in reaſon complain that they were precluded from enjoying the advantages of dependence and independence at one and the ſame time. The definitive treaties with France, Spain, and America, were at this period ſigned with no material alteration; alſo preliminaries of peace with the States General, by which all the conqueſts of England were reſtored, except the town of Negapatnam on the coaſt of Coromandel, which their High Mighti-

neſſes

neſſes found themſelves, however reluctantly, at length compelled to cede.

Nearly at this time an ambaſſador from the United States of America, Mr. Adams, arrived in London. On his firſt audience at St. James's, the king, addreſſing himſelf with much politeneſs to him, ſaid, "that he had been the laſt man in his kingdom who had aſſented to the recognition of American independence; but, now it was actually eſtabliſhed, he would be the laſt man in the kingdom to violate it."—A lively illuſtration on one hand of the invincible pertinacity, and on the other of the probity of intention, which enter ſo conſpicuouſly into the character of this ill-adviſed, miſguided, and unfortunate monarch.

In the courſe of the preſent year died Dr. Frederic Cornwallis, primate of England, who filled the archiepiſcopal ſee of Canterbury almoſt fifteen years. He was a churchman moderate in principle, and amiable in manners. If he could not boaſt the profound learning of a Potter, or the exalted beneficence of a Herring, much leſs could he be charged with the deep malignity of a Wake or the narrow bigotry of a Secker. By a wiſe and happy choice he was ſucceeded by Dr. Moore, biſhop of Bangor—a prelate who, in difficult times and circumſtances,

has acquired univerſal eſteem by his good ſenſe and diſcreet conduct.

During this interval of political repoſe in England, it will not be improper to caſt a tranſient view at the general poſture and relative ſituation of the great Continental powers.

One of the moſt intereſting events which, ſince our laſt notice of foreign politics, had taken place in Europe, was the death of the elector of Bavaria, December 30, 1777. This prince was the laſt of the Ludovician line of electors, which had been in poſſeſſion of the duchy and its appendages near five hundred years. Theſe dominions reverted to the heir general of the deceaſed, Charles Theodore elector Palatine; who being now himſelf advanced in life, and having no iſſue, both electorates ſeemed likely ſoon to fall into the poſſeſſion of the duke of Deux-ponts, his neareſt relation in the male Palatine line. Scarcely, however, had the new elector arrived at Munich, before he found that he was oppoſed by a rival of ſuch ſuperior force as to leave him no room to hope, however clear his right, for ſucceſs in the competition.

This was no other than the emperor, who advancing, on grounds of which it would be idle to examine into the validity, his imperial claim to the whole of the Lower Bavaria, and to all thoſe

thoſe diſtricts of the Upper which had been formerly fiefs of the kingdom of Bohemia, cauſed a vaſt army to enter the electorate, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of the regency, who in vain pleaded the laws of the empire and the rights of ſovereignty.

The elector Theodore, equally unable and unwilling to riſk the conteſt, ſigned a convention with the emperor in January 1778, in which all the pretended rights of the court of Vienna were allowed and conceded in their fulleſt extent. This tranſaction, however, could not fail to excite a general alarm throughout the empire.

The duke of Deux-ponts formally proteſted againſt this invaſion and dereliction of his rights, and called upon the princes and co-eſtates of the empire, as members of the Germanic body, and guarantees of the treaty of Weſtphalia, to interpoſe for the preſervation of the conſtitution, thus openly violated.

The king of Pruſſia, who regarded with a jealous eye whatever tended to the aggrandizement of the houſe of Auſtria, aſſumed, as well became him, the lead in this important and common concern. His ſeveral memorials on this ſubject to the court of Vienna, and to the diet of the empire aſſembled at Ratiſbon, were however extremely guarded and temperate, whilſt the replies of the imperial court were in the higheſt de-

gree haughty and ſupercilious.—" The court of Vienna knew her own rights, and was the proper judge of them. An *amicable arrangement* had taken place, and his imperial majeſty did not think himſelf accountable to any prince of the empire for the meaſures he had purſued; and, being thoroughly ſatisfied with the JUSTICE of his CAUSE, was reſolved to ſupport his pretenſions by force of arms."

The king of Pruſſia, who evidently appears to have been reluctant to proceed to extremities, at length propoſed to the emperor to guaranty to him in full right the ceſſion of two conſiderable diſtricts of the duchy of Bavaria, contiguous to the Auſtrian territories, on condition that the court of Vienna would relinquiſh her remaining claims. But this being refuſed with diſdain, his Pruſſian majeſty publiſhed a manifeſto early in July 1778, ſtating " the unwarrantable and violent conduct of the imperial court, which, if ſuffered to proceed without control, would effect the total overthrow of the whole Germanic ſyſtem."

It was equally evident on the other hand, that the emperor had from the firſt expected, and was prepared to riſk the event of a war for the ſake of this great and moſt deſirable requiſition *.

With

* " When the emperor ſurveys the map of Germany," ſays a moſt agreeable and, though a judge of the High Court of Juſticiary

With reſpect to the emperor, this was "the ſpring of hope, and the ſummer of the paſſions;" but the monarch of Pruſſia, who had already attained the higheſt ſeat in the temple of Fame, and was now faſt declining into the vale of years, would willingly have avoided a war which preſented no glorious or ſplendid object, and which was impoſed upon him by an unwelcome and imperious political neceſſity.

Saxony, departing from its long and intimate union with the imperial houſe, now joined with all its forces the king of Pruſſia, who in the beginning of July entered Bohemia at the head of a vaſt army on the ſide of Sileſia, while another of nearly equal force, under his brother prince Henry, penetrated the paſſes of the mountains which ſeparate that kingdom from Saxony. Of the two Auſtrian armies, the emperor in perſon, aſſiſted by mareſchal Laſci, commanded one, and the famous mareſchal Laudohn the other; the whole plan and conduct of this campaign, which on the part of the Auſtrians was entirely defenſive, being chiefly aſcribed to the latter juſtly celebrated general.

Juſticiary in Scotland, a moſt LIBERAL writer, the late lord Gardenſtone, "he may well apply to the electorate of Bavaria the words of the old rapacious neighbour in HORACE,—

——————O ſi angulus ille
Proximus accedat qui nunc denormat agellum!"

After

After a great variety of military movements and manœuvres unneceſſary to particularize, and indeed almoſt unintelligible in the relation, but which were ſaid on both ſides to diſplay uncommon proofs of ſkill, the king of Pruſſia, not being able to bring the Auſtrians to a general action, was finally compelled to evacuate Bohemia with great loſs. Mareſchal Laudohn, in the whole of his operations, ſeemed cloſely to have adhered to the model of his renowned predeceſſor, mareſchal Traun, whoſe defenſive campaign of 1744 in Bohemia is highly extolled by the Pruſſian monarch as a maſter-piece of profeſſional judgment and ability. It was however remarked that the emperor gave in this firſt eſſay no indications of military genius; and it was even affirmed, that his exceſſive caution alone preſerved the army of prince Henry from deſtruction—Mareſchal Laudohn having completely ſucceeded in preventing the junction of the two Pruſſian armies, and an attack upon that of the prince in his retreat preſenting every proſpect of advantage.

Soon after the termination of the campaign, a negotiation for peace was ſet on foot by the court of Vienna, whoſe councils the emperor could no longer influence. His mother, the empreſs-queen, who poſſeſſed all the real and efficient power of the Auſtrian houſe, ſighed for peace, while the emperor

emperor her-ſon was eager and ardent for the proſecution of the war, though nothing could be leſs encouraging than the proſpects now preſented to him. The whole empire was firmly united in opinion and intereſt in oppoſition to the imperial claims. Ruſſia openly declared, by her ambaſſador at Ratiſbon, that if the uſurpation of Bavaria was not relinquiſhed, ſhe ſhould be under the neceſſity of furniſhing to Pruſſia the auxiliary troops ſtipulated by treaty; and even France declared to the Diet her reſolution in no reſpect to deviate from her guarantee of the treaty of Weſtphalia.

There is moreover good ground to believe that the empreſs-queen, who had in the latter years of her life become a religious devotee, entertained *ſtrong ſcruples* of conſcience at the ſacrificing ſo many myriads of lives in ſupport of an act of flagrant perfidy and injuſtice *. It is even aſſerted that ſhe diſcovered ſymptoms of extreme indeciſion and agitation of mind in this buſineſs. No intreaties could prevail on her to be preſent at any military exhibitions. She paſſed half her time in prayer and at the cathedral of Vienna, remained for ſeveral hours together on her knees, invoking the divine bleſſing to aid her efforts for maintaining the peace of Germany. Prince

* Wraxall's Memoirs of the Court of Berlin.

Kaunitz

Kaunitz was gloomy and thoughtful, the courtiers were embarraſſed, and the emperor alone affected to appear gay and cheerful.

The motives for peace being thus urgent, the preliminary articles were ſigned at Teſchen, May 13, 1779, in conformity to which the whole electorate was reſtored to its rightful poſſeſſor, the diſtrict of Burghauſen excepted. The empreſs did not long ſurvive the pacification ſhe ſo anxiouſly ſought, dying November 12, 1780, much lamented by her ſubjects, whom ſhe had governed for forty years with parental affection and indiſputable ability. The bigotry and ſuperſtition of this princeſs, which threw a cloud over the evening of her life, did not incite her to any acts of cruelty or intolerance. By the mildneſs and beneficence of her adminiſtration ſhe acquired and retained to the laſt in every part of her vaſt dominions an unbounded popularity; and the Hungarian nation in particular, who oppoſed the deſpotiſm of her predeceſſors by force of arms, for a ſucceſſion of years ſubmitted with joy and gratitude to her juſt and generous ſway.

Joseph II. her ſon, early diſcovered that rage for innovation, without diſcrimination or judgment, which has in the ſequel rendered his name ſo unfortunately memorable. His character was however as yet very imperfectly known, and Europe thought much better of this monarch,

both

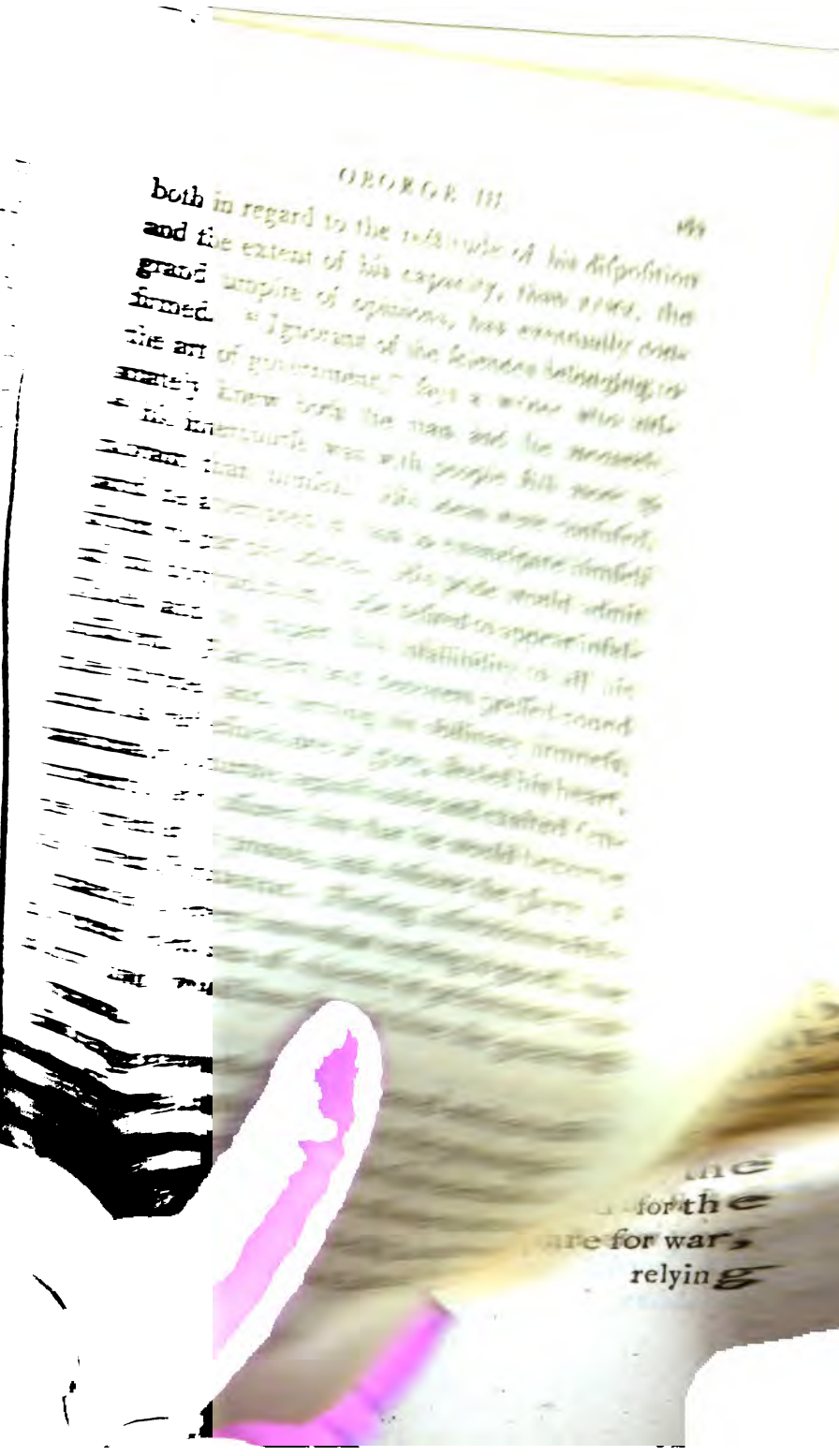
both in regard to the rectitude of his diſpoſition and the extent of his capacity, than TIME, the grand umpire of opinions, has eventually confirmed. "Ignorant of the ſciences belonging to the art of government," ſays a writer who intimately knew both the man and the monarch, "his intercourſe was with people ſtill more ignorant than himſelf. His ideas were confuſed, and he attempted in vain to emancipate himſelf from vulgar prejudices. His pride would admit of no contradiction. He deſired to appear infallible, and to impart this infallibility to all his officers. Flatterers and deceivers preſſed round the throne, and, terming his obſtinacy firmneſs, and his reſtleſſneſs love of glory, ſteeled his heart, naturally obdurate, againſt noble and exalted ſentiments; and aſſured him that he would become the greateſt of princes, and obſcure the glory of the great FREDERIC. Finding inſurmountable obſtacles to every innovation tending to good, he adopted meaſures of violence in preference to policy, and would have been in time the greateſt of tyrants."

His reign nevertheleſs commenced with an act of beneficence, truly imperial, in the promulgation of letters-patent, granting the free exerciſe of their religion to the Proteſtants all over the Auſtrian dominions. By a ſecond edict, he declared all religious foundations in the Auſtrian Netherlands

[illegible] was gloomy and thoughtful, the courtiers were embarrassed, and the emperor alone [illegible] and cheerful.

The affairs of Prussia being thus urgent, the [illegible] were signed at Teschen, May [illegible] a preliminary at which the whole elector[illegible] was present, as the spiritual protector, the [illegible] Empire. The empress [illegible] the pacification she so anx[illegible] a number of [illegible], much [illegible] which she had govern[illegible] with paternal affection and in[illegible]. The dignity and superiority [illegible] which drew a cloud over the [illegible] not incline her to any acts [illegible]. By the address and [illegible] she accomplished [illegible] in every part of her vast [illegible] a general popularity; and the [illegible] in particular, who opposed [illegible] by force of arms [illegible] with joy [illegible] and [illegible]

[illegible]


GEORGE III
for the
relying

lands exempt from all foreign eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction; and other regulations were adopted for the purpoſe of reducing the number of religious houſes, and of diſcountenancing all monaſtic inſtitutions.

The Roman pontiff, Pius VI. whoſe zeal for the church was very great, alarmed at theſe proceedings, declared to the emperor his intention, notwithſtanding his advanced age, to make in perſon a journey to Vienna, in order to confer with his imperial majeſty on the ſubject of theſe recent and dangerous innovations. The emperor in reply aſſured his holineſs, that his heart was truly catholic and apoſtolic; but that with regard to the late regulations, they had been made with due conſideration and good advice; and that, having already decided upon them, his holineſs's journey was in this view entirely ſuperfluous.

The pope however would not be deterred from the execution of his deſign, and on his actual arrival at Vienna in the ſpring of 1782 he was treated by the emperor with the higheſt demonſtrations of reſpect and affection: but no alterations whatever as to public meaſures took place, as may eaſily be ſuppoſed, in conſequence of this viſit, which ill comported with the preſcriptive haughtineſs of the Vatican. The very attempt to effect a change in the imperial ſyſtem of policy by any perſonal efforts of argument or eloquence was a certain

certain indication of weakneſs and vanity. On his return to Rome, the holy father had the mortification to find his journey the object of very general ridicule; and an anonymous paſquinade declared, "that what Gregory VII. the greateſt of prieſts, had eſtabliſhed, Pius VI. the moſt contemptible of prieſts, had deſtroyed *." The emperor on his part gained by his multiplied, rapacious, and precipitate reforms, no increaſe of reputation with truly enlightened perſons, who

* The celebrated cardinal de Bernis, whoſe diſcernment and knowledge of mankind were of the ſuperior claſs, uſed, as we are told, every poſſible means to diſſuade the pope from his prepoſterous reſolution of viſiting the emperor. "Every body (ſaid the cardinal in a letter afterwards publiſhed) is of opinion, that you are about to take an improper ſtep, which, without being of the ſmalleſt advantage to the Holy See, will be a diſgrace to the pontifical dignity. Even at Rome it is already turned into ridicule. Now you know with what effect that weapon is uſed againſt religion and its miniſters. Thoſe who are about your perſon dare not oppoſe your wiſhes. They are ill acquainted with the ſpirit of courts and the ſpirit of the age. For Heaven's ſake then, holy father, ſuſpend the execution of your project, till you know the ſentiments of the courts of France and Spain, and of ſuch others whoſe opinion ought to have any weight with you."—"You ſee (ſaid the cardinal) that the emperor tells you before hand, that nothing is capable of making him change his determination. Why then ſhould you take ſo degrading a ſtep to no purpoſe? Finding his bold though friendly remonſtrances, which the pope however took in good part, of no avail, he concluded his laſt note with the expreſſion—"Triſtis eſt anima mea uſque ad mortem." And from this time he was accuſtomed to ſay, "I ſee well that the reign of Pius VI. will in the end coſt him many a tear."

clearly

clearly perceived that his unbounded love of power was not blended with any juſt principles of philanthropy or philoſophy.

The good underſtanding of the Ruſſian and Ottoman empires had recently ſuffered great interruption, in conſequence of the oppoſition of intereſts involved in the election of a khan of the Tartars, with reſpect to which neither power, agreeably to the terms of the late peace, had a right to interfere. An explanatory agreement at length took place (March 1779) by which the khan Sahim Guerai, elected through the influence of Ruſſia, was acknowledged as lawful khan of the Crimea by the Turkiſh government.

In the year 1782, nevertheleſs, theſe diſturbances were revived, and the czarina entered into an alliance, offenſive and defenſive, with the emperor, in the evident expectation of an immediate war with the Porte. And haughty memorials were delivered by the ambaſſadors of both the imperial courts at Conſtantinople, inſiſting that the Ottoman court ſhould not henceforth interpoſe in the affairs of the Crimea; nor encroach upon the prerogatives of the princes of Moldavia and Walachia; nor oppoſe the free navigation of the Euxine.

Soon after this the khan of the Tartars, in conformity doubtleſs to the pre-concerted plan of the imperial courts, ſignified his reſolution to reſign his

his crown into the hands of the czarina. After ſome affected heſitation, her imperial majeſty declared by a public manifeſto, dated April 1783, her acceptance of this reſignation, and her determination to take once for all the peninſula of the Crimea, together with the iſland of Taman, and the province of Cuban Tartary, on the other ſide of the Straits of Caffa, extending to Circaſſia, under her own immediate adminiſtration.

The court of Conſtantinople, rouſed by this new and unexpected attack, replied to the Ruſſian manifeſto with unuſual animation and energy.—"What pretenſions of right (ſay they) can her imperial majeſty have to territories annexed for ages to the dominion of the Porte? Would ſuch claims on any part of the Ruſſian empire not be inſtantly reſiſted? And can it be preſumed that the Sublime Porte, however deſirous of peace, will acquieſce in what ambition may term policy, but juſtice and equity would deem uſurpation? What Chriſtian power has the Porte offended? Whoſe territories have the Ottoman troops invaded? In the country of what prince is the Turkiſh ſtandard diſplayed? Content with the boundaries of empire aſſigned her by GOD and his prophet, the wiſhes of the Porte are for peace; but if the court of Ruſſia be determined in her claims, the Sublime Porte, appealing to the world for the juſtice of her proceedings, muſt prepare for war,

relying on the decrees of Heaven, and confident of the interpoſition of the Prophet of prophets, who will protect his faithful ſervants in the hour of every difficulty."

The Ruſſian court however appeared no leſs reſolute to maintain and ſubſtantiate, than that of Conſtantinople to reſiſt her claims; and prince Potemkin, a nobleman of great influence and authority at the court of Peterſburg, was delegated to take poſſeſſion of the countries in queſtion, in the name of the empreſs. A war now therefore appeared inevitable; but, happily for the intereſts of humanity, the two leading kingdoms of Europe were at this period governed by wiſe and beneficent miniſters, who ſincerely wiſhed to ſecure to mankind the ineſtimable bleſſings of univerſal peace. From motives which reflected the higheſt honor on thoſe celebrated ſtateſmen, the comte de Vergennes and Mr. Fox offered the mediation of their reſpective ſovereigns to effect an accommodation: and the Porte, perceiving itſelf in a manner abandoned by France her antient ally, and wholly unable to contend againſt that tide of adverſe fortune which threatened to overwhelm the empire of the Ottomans in final and remedileſs ruin, at length reluctantly aſſented to the ceſſion of the provinces actually in the poſſeſſion of Ruſſia; and a treaty or convention to this purport was ſigned in the month of January 1784.

Thus

Thus did the court of Peterſburg, with no expence of blood or treaſure, acquire an invaluable addition of territory, affording an unbounded ſcope for the aggrandizement of her commercial and maritime power, and which extended the limits of her empire from the frozen ſea of Archangel to the utmoſt ſhores of the Euxine. A new city, called Cherſon, had been already founded by the empreſs in the centre of her Turkiſh conqueſts, deſtined probably, at ſome future period, to become the emporium of wealth and the ſeat of power. The former deſignations of the ceded countries were now, by the imperial mandate, aboliſhed. Thoſe barbarous names ſo offenſive to claſſic faſtidiouſneſs were no longer heard, and the antient appellations, after the lapſe of a thouſand years, reſtored. The Crimea became the Taurica—Actiar was changed to Sebaſtopolis—Caffa was loſt in Theodoſia—and the Bog was happily ſuperſeded by the Hypanis.

The political ſtate of the remaining countries of Europe either requires no diſtinct animadverſion, or would lead to diſcuſſions not within the limits of the preſent hiſtory. It may however be tranſiently remarked, that an event very little to be lamented took place February 1777, in the death of Don Joſeph I. king of Portugal. His reign was marked in the records of hiſtory only by weakneſs and calamity; it was deeply ſtained with domeſtic blood, and

rendered deteſtable by worſe than Dionyſian devices of cruelty. The earthquake of 1755 had laid his capital in ruins, and ſhook the kingdom, in a political as well as phyſical ſenſe, to its centre. The conſpiracy of 1757 awakened all the malignity of ceaſeleſs ſuſpicion, and filled the dungeons of the ſtate with the moſt virtuous of her citizens. Saved from ruin in the enſuing war with Spain by the interpoſition of England, this monarch could not forget nor forgive the magnitude of the obligation; and the commerce of the Britiſh merchants, under the arbitrary and capricious conduct of the marquis de Pombal, his favorite miniſter, ſuffered under continual oppreſſion.

He was ſucceeded by his eldeſt daughter, Donna Iſabella, married by virtue of a papal diſpenſation to Don Pedro, brother to the late king. At her acceſſion the priſon-doors were thrown open, and eight hundred perſons were ſet at liberty; but theſe were ſaid to bear a very ſmall proportion to the numbers who had periſhed in thoſe regions of darkneſs and deſpair, under the ſufferings and horrors of their confinement.

Purſuant to the intimation in the concluding ſpeech of the laſt ſeſſion, the parliament of Great Britain was convened at an early period of the winter, November 11, 1783; and his majeſty ſtated, as a principal object of their conſideration, the ſituation of the Eaſt-India Company.

"The

"The utmoſt exertions of their wiſdom (he ſaid) would be required to maintain and improve the valuable advantages derived from our India poſſeſſions, and to promote and ſecure the happineſs of the native inhabitants of thoſe provinces."

The addreſs paſſed without oppoſition. Mr. Pitt, in his ſpeech on this occaſion, warned the miniſters, "that, as to the affairs of India, it would not be enough to attempt meaſures of palliation and of a temporary nature; that would only increaſe the danger by removing it to a diſtance, and he expreſſed his ſurpriſe that this important buſineſs had been ſo long poſtponed."

Mr. Fox, well pleaſed at this language, acknowledged "that the ſtate of India was ſuch as would ill brook delay in their deliberations, and he was happy to give notice that on that day ſe'nnight he ſhould be prepared to make a motion relative to India."

On the 18th of November, accordingly, Mr. Fox moved for leave to bring in a bill for veſting the affairs of the Eaſt-India Company in the hands of certain commiſſioners, for the benefit of the proprietary and the public. The plan propoſed by Mr. Fox was marked with all the characteriſtics of his ardent and daring mind. The total derangement of the finances of the Company, and their utter incompetency to govern the vaſt territories of which they had, by very queſtionable

means, obtained the poſſeſſion, was too evident to admit of contradiction. The evil was notorious; the only difficulty was to deviſe an adequate remedy.

This famous bill propoſed no leſs than to take from the directors and proprietors the entire adminiſtration, not of their territorial merely, but of their commercial affairs, and to veſt the management and direction of them in the hands of ſeven commiſſioners named in the bill, and irremovable by the crown, except in conſequence of an addreſs of either houſe of parliament. Theſe were earl Fitzwilliam, preſident of the board; viſcount Lewiſham, eldeſt ſon to the earl of Dartmouth; the right honorable Frederic Montague; the honorable George Auguſtus North; ſir Gilbert Elliot, ſir Henry Fletcher, baronets; and Robert Gregory, eſq. who, it could not fail to be remarked, were divided upon the model and in the ſame proportion as the members of the cabinet.—Theſe commiſſioners were to be aſſiſted by a ſubordinate board of nine directors, to be named in the firſt inſtance by parliament and afterwards choſen by the proprietors. And the bill empowered theſe commiſſioners and directors immediately to enter into poſſeſſion of all lands, tenements, books, records, veſſels, goods, merchandize, and ſecurities, in truſt for the Company.

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This act, by which the charter of the Company was entirely ſuperſeded, was to continue in force four years, that is, till the year after the next general election;—and it was accompanied by a ſecond bill, enacting very excellent, wiſe, and equitable regulations for the future government of the Britiſh territories in Hindoſtan. The aſtoniſhment excited by the diſcloſure of this plan was very great; and while it was on one ſide of the houſe extolled as a maſter-piece of genius, virtue, and ability, it was on the other reprobated as a deep and dangerous deſign, fraught with miſchief and ruin. "INDIA, it was true," ſaid Mr. Pitt, "wanted reform, but not ſuch a reform as this;—it wanted a *conſtitutional* alteration, and not a *tyrannical* one, that broke through every principle of equity and juſtice. By the bill before the houſe, an attack was made on the moſt ſolemn charters: it pointed a fatal blow againſt the faith and integrity of parliament: it broke through every tie by which man was bound to man. The principle of this bill once eſtabliſhed, what ſecurity had the other public companies of the kingdom? What ſecurity had the Bank of England? What ſecurity had the national creditors, or the public corporations? Or, indeed, what aſſurance could we have for the GREAT CHARTER itſelf, the foundation of all our liberties?

It would be folly in the extreme to ſuppoſe, that the principle, one admitted, would operate only on the preſent occaſion. Good principles might ſleep, but bad ones never. It was the curſe of ſociety, that when a bad principle was once eſtabliſhed, bad men would always be found to give it its full effect. The bill under conſideration included a confiſcation of the property, and a diſfranchiſement of the members, of the Eaſt-India Company—all the ſeveral articles of whoſe effects were transferred by violence to ſtrangers. Imagination was at a loſs to gueſs at the moſt inſignificant trifle that had eſcaped the harpy jaws of A RAVENOUS COALITION. The power was pretended indeed to be given in truſt for the benefit of the proprietors; but in caſe of the groſſeſt abuſe of truſt, to whom was the appeal? To the proprietors? No:—to the majority of either houſe of parliament, which the moſt contemptible miniſter could not fail to ſecure, with the patronage of above two millions ſterling given by this bill. The influence which would accrue from this bill—a new, enormous, and unexampled influence—was indeed in the higheſt degree alarming. Seven commiſſioners choſen oſtenſibly by parliament, but really by adminiſtration, were to involve in the vortex of their authority the patronage and treaſures of India. The right honorable mover had acknowledged

knowledged himſelf to be a man of ambition; and it now appeared that he was prepared to ſacrifice the king, the parliament, and the people, at the ſhrine of his ambition. He deſired to elevate his preſent connections to a ſituation in which no political convulſions, and no variations of power, might be able to deſtroy their importance, and put an end to their aſcendency."

Theſe and ſimilar arguments againſt the preſent extraordinary meaſure of the miniſter were alſo ably and eloquently enforced by the lord advocate, Mr. Jenkinſon, Mr. Grenville, and others. On the other hand it was with equal eloquence and ability vindicated by Mr. Fox, who with warmth declared, "that he would riſk upon the execution of this bill whatever was moſt dear to him—whatever men moſt valued: the character of integrity, of talents, of honor, of preſent reputation and future fame;—theſe he would ſtake upon the conſtitutional ſafety, the enlarged policy, the equity and wiſdom of this meaſure. Make the commiſſioners removable at will, and you ſet all the paſſions of human-nature afloat. Inveſt them with power upon the ſame tenure as the Britiſh judges hold their ſtation, removable upon delinquency, puniſhable upon guilt, but fearleſs of danger if they diſcharge their truſt, and they will be liable to no ſeducement, and will execute their functions with

with glory to themſelves, and for the common good of the country and mankind. Every word in this bill breathes ſuſpicion. It ſuppoſes that men are but men; it confides in no integrity, it truſts to no character; it annexes reſponſibility to every action, every exertion of the various powers which it creates and confers."—While the bill was pending, a petition was preſented from the Company, repreſenting the meaſure as ſubverſive of their charter, and operating as a confiſcation of their property, without charging againſt them any ſpecific delinquency, without trial, without conviction—a proceeding contrary to the moſt ſacred privileges of Britiſh ſubjects, and praying to be heard by counſel againſt the bill. The city of London alſo preſented a ſtrong petition to the ſame effect. But it was carried with rapidity through all its ſtages in the houſe of commons by deciſive majorities, the diviſion on the ſecond reading being 217 to 103 voices. And on the 9th of December, Mr. Fox, attended by a numerous train of members, preſented the bill at the bar of the houſe of lords. On this occaſion, earl Temple declared, "that he was happy to embrace the firſt opportunity of entering his proteſt againſt ſo INFAMOUS a bill—againſt a ſtretch of power ſo truly alarming, and that went near to ſeize upon the moſt in-

eſtimable

eſtimable part of our conſtitution—our CHARTERED RIGHTS."

The duke of Richmond roſe on the ſame ſide, and diſplayed in a ſtriking manner the inconſiſtency of a part at leaſt of the preſent adminiſtration, by a view of the proteſt entered by lord Rockingham and other noble lords, on the journals of that houſe, againſt the India Bill of 1773. This famous WHIG proteſt concludes in the following remarkable words: "If the proviſions and precedent of this bill ſhould render the public faith of Great Britain of no eſtimation, the franchiſes, rights, and properties of Engliſhmen precarious; if the boundleſs fund of corruption furniſhed by this bill to the ſervants of the crown ſhould efface every idea of honor, public ſpirit, and independence, from every rank of people; after ſtruggling vainly againſt theſe evils, we have nothing left but the ſatisfaction of recording our names to poſterity, as thoſe who reſiſted the whole of this iniquitous ſyſtem, and as men who had no ſhare in betraying to blind prejudices or ſordid intereſt every thing that has hitherto been held ſacred in this country." To this proteſt the ſignature of the duke of Portland, who held the higheſt poſt under the preſent adminiſtration, and that of lord Fitzwilliam, the future preſident of the

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new India board, were affixed. Lord Thurlow declared the preſent bill "to be a moſt atrocious violation of private property, in juſtification of which if the plea of political neceſſity were urged, that neceſſity muſt be proved by evidence at the bar of the houſe, and not by reports from a committee, to which he ſhould pay as much attention as to the romance of Robinſon Cruſoe. They were told, that the finances of the Company were much deranged; but could parliament in juſtice forget that the Company were reſtricted from employing that credit which reſulted from its great and flouriſhing ſituation? and that if thoſe reſtrictions were taken off tomorrow, every demand to the ſtate would be diſcharged? Could parliament forget that the politics of this country had involved the Company in an extenſive and ruinous war? and that while we encountered loſs, misfortune, and diſgrace, in every other quarter of the globe, this delinquent Company had ſurmounted the moſt aſtoniſhing difficulties in India? Would parliament forget, that when peace was reſtored to this unfortunate country, the conqueſts of this delinquent Company were given up to prevent farther ſacrifices of our more favorite poſſeſſions?"

The ſecond reading of the bill took place on the

the 15th of December *, when counſel was heard at the bar of the houſe in behalf of the Company. At eleven o'clock, the counſel requeſted of the houſe an adjournment for the concluſion of their evidence; and a motion being made, it was carried in oppoſition to the miniſters by 87 to 79 voices.

On the 17th it was moved, That the bill be REJECTED. On this occaſion lord Camden diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a moſt able and eloquent ſpeech againſt a meaſure which his lordſhip affirmed to be in the higheſt degree pernicious and unconſtitutional. "To diveſt the Company of

* During this interval, the regular buſineſs of the ſeſſion was proceeding in the uſual manner in the houſe of commons; and on the 12th of December, amongſt the ordinary eſtimates of the year, eighteen thouſand pounds were charged for the purchaſe of the princely manſion of ſir Gregory Page, on Blackheath, as a royal military academy—a ſum not more than equal to the value of the materials. And as ſeveral thouſand pounds would by this means be ſaved in the repair of the old incommodious building at Woolwich, and likewiſe an allowance of five hundred pounds per annum for lodgings to the officers, who would henceforth be accommodated in the new academy, the expence was reduced to a mere nothing, whilſt the purchaſe would have done honor to the taſte and magnificence of the nation; yet was it oppoſed with moſt prepoſterous obſtinacy by ſome weak and perverſe members of the houſe, as a wanton and ſcandalous waſte of the public money; and the chancellor of the Exchequer had the injudicious complaiſance to conſent to omit it on the report.

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tain reſtrictions, had a right to addreſs the ſovereign. But the tendency of theſe reſolutions was to make the monarch a kind of priſoner of ſtate, and to ſhut him up from every ſpecies of information unacceptable to the exiſting adminiſtration. Were any relation of his, in a criſis of difficulty and danger, to convey truths to his ſovereign of high importance to be known, though at the riſk of incurring the utmoſt puniſhment which the indignation of that houſe could inflict, he ſhould conſider his conduct not merely as juſtifiable, but tranſcendently meritorious, and ſuch as would tranſmit his name with honor to the lateſt poſterity." Other members acknowledged ſomething of irregularity in theſe proceedings, and wiſhed that a meaſure ſo dangerous might have been counteracted in a mode more open and conſtitutional; but a great good had been obtained, and in this caſe it were not wiſe to examine into the cauſe with too accurate a diſcrimination and too ſevere a ſcrutiny. The reſolution moved by Mr. Baker paſſed nevertheleſs by a great majority.

The quarrel between the crown and the miniſters, ſupported as they were by a decided majority of the houſe of commons, having now become public and palpable, an entire change of adminiſtration was at all hazards determined upon. At midnight on the 18th of December, a

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royal meſſage was ſent to the ſecretaries of ſtate, demanding the ſeals of their ſeveral departments; and early the next morning letters of diſmiſſion, ſigned TEMPLE, were ſent to the other members of the cabinet.

In a few days Mr. Pitt was declared Firſt Lord of the Treaſury and Chancellor of the Exchequer; the marquis of Carmarthen, and Mr. Thomas Townſhend, created Lord Sydney, were nominated Secretaries of State; lord Thurlow was reinſtated as Lord-Chancellor; earl Gower, created in the ſequel Marquis of Stafford, as Preſident of the Council; the duke of Rutland was conſtituted Lord Privy-ſeal; lord Howe placed at the head of the Admiralty, and the duke of Richmond of the Ordnance. The earl of Northington was recalled from his government of Ireland, to which lord Temple, who had retained the ſeals of ſecretary only three days, was again deſtined to ſucceed.

To the ſurpriſe and unqueſtionably to the great eventual detriment of the public, the earl of Shelburne was not included in the new arrangement of adminiſtration. The intelligence of this change was, notwithſtanding, received by the nation with tranſports of joy.

The INDIA BILL, concerning which the public judgment was at the firſt ſuſpended, had now, by a multiplicity of able and popular tracts in-

duſtrioufly circulated, been completely developed and explained; and it was almoſt univerſally condemned as a meaſure in the higheſt degree arbitrary and oppreſſive, and with conſummate artifice calculated to perpetuate the power of an adminiſtration who were the objects of the national deteſtation. It is nevertheleſs a ſuppoſition abſolutely inadmiſſible, that ſuch men as the duke of Portland, lord John Cavendiſh, and Mr. Fox, had concerted a meaſure inſidiouſly adapted to ſerve their own purpoſe—knowing or believing the ſame to be inimical to the eſſential intereſts of their country. In fact, no plan for the government of India could be framed which was not liable to very great objection. The bill of Mr. Fox was primarily and profeſſedly deſigned for the reformation of abuſes in India; and as it was neceſſary for this purpoſe to eſtabliſh a new and extenſive ſource of authority and influence at home, very plauſible, and, to perſons intereſted, doubtleſs, very convincing reaſons might be adduced to prove it more ſafe and conſtitutional to entruſt this power to parliamentary commiſſioners than to the crown, whoſe influence it had been the grand and favorite object of all true patriots to diminiſh. Nor was it poſſible that the parliamentary rejection of this bill could have been attended with ſuch ſignal effects, had not the popularity of the miniſter with

with whom it originated been already completely and for ever annihilated by means of the fatal and ACCURSED COALITION.

On the 22d of December, the houſe of commons being in a committee on the ſtate of the nation, Mr. Erſkine moved, "That an addreſs be preſented to the king, ſtating, that alarming reports had gone forth of an intended diſſolution of parliament, and humbly repreſenting to his majeſty the inconveniences and dangers of a prorogation or diſſolution in the preſent conjuncture; and intreating the ſovereign to hearken to the advice of that houſe, and not to the ſecret advice of particular perſons who might have private intereſts of their own ſeparate from the true intereſts of the king and people."

This addreſs, which was of a complexion unknown in this country ſince the æra of the Revolution, was carried without a diviſion. The anſwer of the king was very diſcreet and temperate. His majeſty ſaid, "It had been his conſtant object to employ the authority entruſted to him by the conſtitution to its true and only end—the good of the people; and he was always happy in concurring with the wiſhes and opinions of his faithful commons. He truſted they would proceed in the important matters mentioned in their addreſs with a convenient ſpeed, aſſuring them that he ſhould not interrupt their meeting

after their adjournment by any exerciſe of his prerogative either of prorogation or diſſolution."

The houſe now with tolerable ſatisfaction adjourned for the uſual Chriſtmas receſs to the 10th of January 1784, on which day the committee on the ſtate of the nation was reſumed; and ſeveral reſolutions were brought forward by Mr. Fox, and agreed to by the houſe—prohibiting the lords of the Treaſury from aſſenting to the acceptance of the Company's bills from India—forbidding alſo the iſſue of any of the public money after a prorogation or diſſolution of parliament, unleſs the Act of Appropriation ſhall have previouſly paſſed; and ordering accounts to be laid before the houſe of the moneys already iſſued.

Theſe reſolutions were followed by a motion from the earl of Surry—"1. That in the preſent ſituation of his majeſty's dominions it was peculiarly neceſſary that there ſhould be an adminiſtration that had the confidence of the public. 2. That the late changes in his majeſty's councils were accompanied by circumſtances new and extraordinary, and ſuch as did not conciliate the confidence of that houſe." On this motion the houſe divided, but it was carried in the affirmative by 196 to 142 voices.

On the 16th of January a reſolution was moved

moved by lord Charles Spencer, "That the continuance of the preſent miniſters in truſts of the higheſt importance and reſpectability was contrary to the principles of the conſtitution, and injurious to the intereſts of the king and people." Upon this queſtion the houſe divided, ayes 205, noes 184; ſo that the anti-miniſterial majority was, by an ominous defection, reduced from 54 to 21 voices.

About this time the chancellor of the Exchequer introduced into the houſe a bill for the better government of India, on principles which left the commercial concerns of the Company in their own hands; and eſtabliſhed a Board of Control, conſiſting of certain commiſſioners appointed by the king, poſſeſſing a negative on the proceedings of the Company in all matters of government or politics. On the motion of commitment, this bill was loſt by 222 voices againſt 214—ſo that the oppoſition majority was now diminiſhed to 8.

A ſtill more encouraging circumſtance was, that addreſſes of thanks and approbation to his majeſty for the removal of his late miniſters now began to flow in from every part of the kingdom; and became at length ſo univerſal, that upon no occaſion whatever was the ſenſe of the people at large more clearly, ſtrongly, and unequivocally aſcertained. In this the city of

London had taken the lead; and in their addreſs they ſay, "Your faithful citizens lately beheld, with infinite concern, the progreſs of a meaſure which equally tended to encroach on the rights of your majeſty's crown—to annihilate the chartered rights of the Eaſt-India Company—and to raiſe a new power unknown to this free government, and highly inimical to its ſafety. As this dangerous meaſure was warmly ſupported by your majeſty's late miniſters, we heartily rejoice in their diſmiſſion, and humbly thank your majeſty for exerting your prerogative in a manner ſo ſalutary and conſtitutional." And concluding in a manner very different from the uſual tenor of their addreſſes in former times, they ſay, "Highly ſenſible of your majeſty's paternal care and affection for your people, WE pray the Almighty that you may long reign in peace over a free, a happy, and united nation."

The popularity acquired by the monarch in conſequence of this diſmiſſion was indeed ſo great as to efface all memory of former diſagreements; and though originating in a cauſe merely accidental, and on the part of the crown from a ſudden and paſſionate reſentment at a ſuppoſed invaſion of the prerogative, yet has it not ſuffered in the ſequel any diminution: on the contrary, from an extraordinary concurrence of circumſtances, the loyalty of the people has been elevated to a pitch

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of ardor which court-flattery itſelf will ſcarcely heſitate to acknowledge at leaſt commenſurate with the merits of the monarch.

Alarmed at the novel and dangerous circumſtances of the nation, both parties ſeemed at length diſpoſed to pauſe, and a judicious idea, ſuggeſted by the independent intereſt in the houſe of commons, of a new adminiſtration founded upon the wideſt and moſt comprehenſive baſis, was liſtened to with approbation; lord North, after all the mighty miſchiefs of which he had been the occaſion or the inſtrument, declaring himſelf willing to retire, if conſidered as the obſtacle to a general union.

The king, by a meſſage to the duke of Portland, expreſſed his deſire that an interview might take place between his grace and Mr. Pitt, for the purpoſe of arranging a new plan of adminiſtration on *fair* and *equal* terms. The duke, previouſly to the interview, requeſted to be informed in what ſenſe he was to underſtand the words *fair* and *equal*; and Mr. Pitt declining any previous explanation, the negotiation terminated. But it was ſufficiently evident that the queſtion had reference to the ſuperiority of voices claimed by the ex-miniſters in the cabinet—a point which Mr. Fox ſtill ſtood upon ground too high to concede.

The houſe of lords, hitherto the ſilent and

paſſive ſpectators of this extraordinary conteſt, now thought proper to come forward; and at the motion of the earl of Effingham their lordſhips reſolved, "1. That an attempt in any one branch of the legiſlature to ſuſpend the execution of law by ſeparately aſſuming to itſelf the direction of a diſcretionary power veſted by act of parliament is unconſtitutional"—alluding to the reſolution of the commons reſpecting the non-acceptance of bills from India. "2. That by the known principles of the conſtitution the undoubted authority of appointing to the great offices of the executive government was ſolely veſted in the king, and that this houſe had every reaſon to place the firmeſt reliance on his majeſty's wiſdom in the exerciſe of this prerogative." Theſe reſolutions, in the form of an addreſs, were preſented to the king. In return, the houſe of commons (February 16) reſolved, at the motion of lord Beauchamp, "1. That the houſe had not aſſumed to itſelf a right to ſuſpend the execution of law; and 2. That for them to declare their opinion reſpecting the exerciſe of any diſcretionary power was conſtitutional, and agreeable to eſtabliſhed uſage."

The oppoſition, who were yet the majority of the houſe of commons, found themſelves daily in a more embarraſſing ſituation. The king, the houſe of peers, and the nation at large, were now

how evidently and openly united in ſentiment againſt them; their numbers were continually diminiſhing, and there was good reaſon to believe they would ſoon dwindle into a minority. Unſupported by the voice of the people, the houſe of commons can never appear great or reſpectable; but when they are alſo unſupported by the power and influence of the crown they muſt become inſignificant and contemptible. Some farther efforts, however, to ſuſtain an apparently ſinking cauſe, were yet with unbroken ſpirit attempted.

On the 20th of February an addreſs, carried by a majority of 20 voices only, was preſented to the king by the houſe, expreſſive of "the reliance the houſe had on the wiſdom of the ſovereign, that he would take ſuch meaſures as might tend to give effect to the wiſhes of his faithful commons, by removing every obſtacle to the formation of ſuch an adminiſtration as the houſe of commons had declared to be requiſite." To this the king again replied in terms happily adapted to the occaſion—mentioning "his recent endeavours to unite in the public ſervice, on a fair and equal footing, thoſe whoſe joint efforts might have a tendency to put an end to the unhappy diviſions and diſtractions of the country; obſerving, nevertheleſs, that there was no ſpecific charge or complaint ſuggeſted againſt his preſent miniſters,

miniſters, and that numbers of his ſubjects had expreſſed to him in the warmeſt manner their ſatisfaction at the late changes. Under theſe circumſtances he truſted his faithful commons would not wiſh that the eſſential offices of executive government ſhould be vacated until ſuch a plan of union as he had called for, and they had pointed out, could be carried into effect."

On the 1ſt day of March a yet ſtronger addreſs was moved and carried, but by a ſtill ſmaller majority, in which the houſe "humbly beſought his majeſty that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to lay the foundation of a ſtrong and ſtable government, by the previous removal of his preſent miniſters." To this addreſs, which left no room for evaſion, the king replied in the ſame mild and firm language—repeating, that no charge or ſpecific complaint had been brought againſt his preſent miniſters; and adding this remarkable obſervation, "that if there were any juſt ground for their removal, it ought to be equally a reaſon for not admitting them as a part of that extended and united adminiſtration which is ſtated to be requiſite."

Addreſſes having been unavailingly tried, Mr. Fox in the following week moved a REPRESENTATION to the crown, which at great length, and in energetic language, ſtated "the dangerous and pernicious tendency of thoſe meaſures and

and maxims by which a new ſyſtem of executive government had been ſet up; which, wanting the confidence of that houſe, and acting in defiance to their reſolutions, muſt prove at once inadequate by its inefficiency to the neceſſary objects of government, and dangerous by its example to the liberties of the people." The motion was carried by a MAJORITY of ONE. And here the conteſt may be ſaid to have terminated; for the Mutiny Bill being brought forward on the following day, March 9, Mr. Fox, perceiving himſelf deſerted by many of his partiſans, abandoned his original intention of moving its poſtponement, as a ſecurity againſt a ſudden and premature diſſolution. The univerſal ſenſe of the nation in favor of the new miniſters, which could no longer be denied, was aſcribed to an *unparalleled deluſion*; but Mr. Fox diſclaiming any intention of obſtructing the ſupplies, a diſſolution was ſaid to be in the higheſt degree indefenſible. Little regard, however, was paid to the arguments of the oppoſition againſt a meaſure ſo evidently to the advantage of the preſent miniſters; and on the 24th of March the parliament was prorogued, and the next day diſſolved by proclamation, and a new parliament convened to meet on the 18th of May.

The influence of the crown being now combined with the inclination and independent intereſt

tereſt of the country, at the general election the effect produced was prodigious. The COALITIONISTS, even thoſe who once ſtood higheſt in the eſtimation of the public, were almoſt every where thrown out: lord John Cavendiſh, for the city; Mr. Foljambe, the heir of ſir George Saville, for the county, of York; general Conway, for Bury; Mr. Coke, for Norfolk; Mr. Halſey, for Hertfordſhire; Mr. Townſhend, for Cambridge univerſity; and Mr. Erſkine, for Portſmouth. Mr. Fox himſelf, to the ſurpriſe of all, had a clear and great majority on the poll for Weſtminſter, though the high-bailiff, by a ſcandalous partiality, refuſed to make the return in his favor, —for which an action was ſubſequently brought by Mr. Fox, in the court of King's Bench, and a verdict with large damages obtained.

The king in his opening ſpeech expreſſed "great ſatisfaction at meeting his parliament at this time, after having recurred in ſo important a moment to the ſenſe of his people. He entertained a juſt and confident reliance that they were animated by the ſame ſentiments of loyalty and attachment to the conſtitution which had been ſo fully manifeſted in every part of the kingdom. He recommended to their moſt ſerious conſideration to frame ſuitable proviſions for the good government of our poſſeſſions in the

Eaſt

East Indies. Upon this subject parliament would not lose sight of the effect which the measures they adopted might have on our own constitution and our dearest interests at home." The address proposed on this occasion contained strong expressions of approbation respecting the late dissolution, which lord Surry on the ground of unanimity moved to omit. But Mr. Pitt declared, "that much as he was convinced of the importance of unanimity, he would not purchase an hollow unanimity by passing over a great constitutional measure which the circumstances of the times had made necessary and wise, and which had given the most entire satisfaction to every part of the kingdom." On this point, therefore, the house divided, and the amendment of the earl of Surry was rejected by a majority of 76 voices; so that the dissolution appeared to have completely answered its intended purpose, and from this period Mr. Pitt may be regarded as the constitutional and efficient minister of the nation.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

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